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THE NEW REPUBLIC

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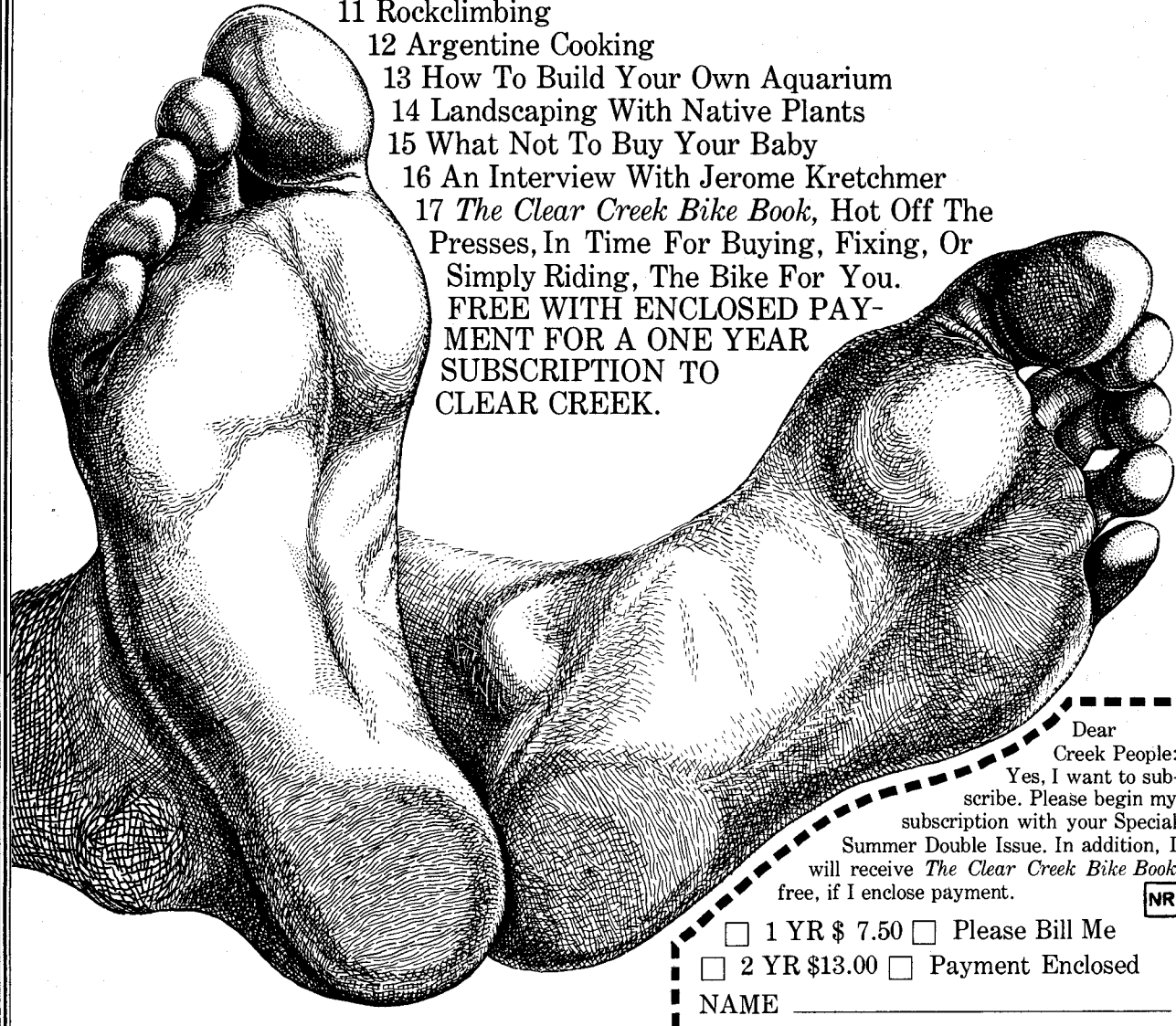

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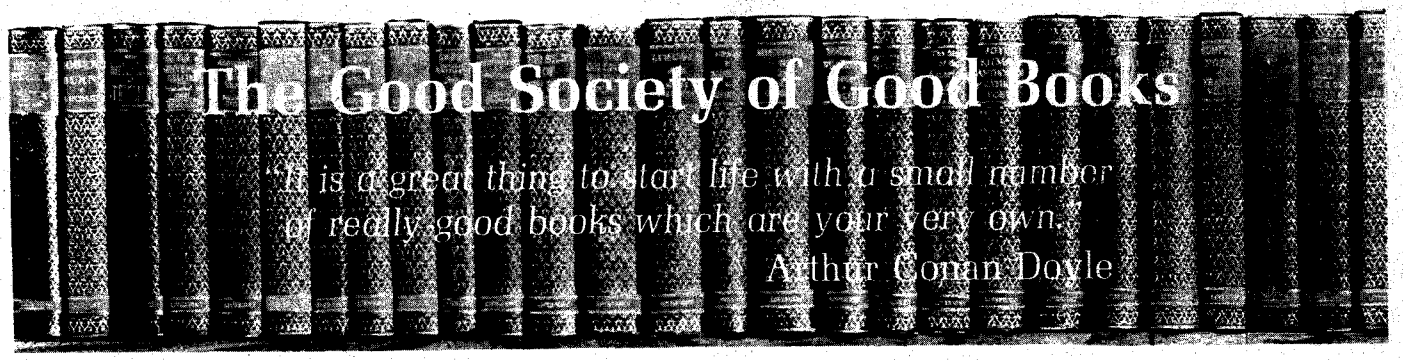
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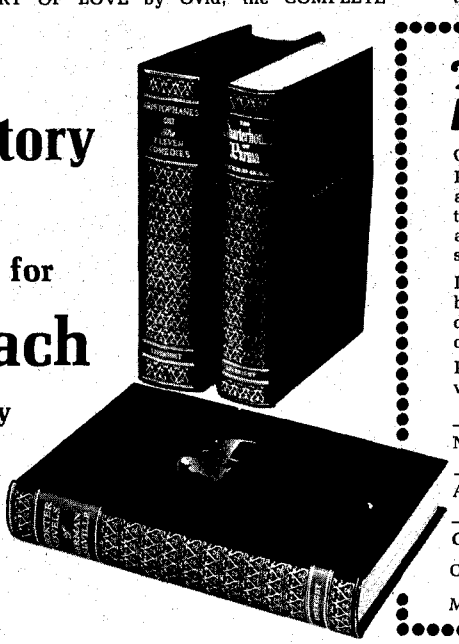

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TRB

from Washington ®
July 8, 1972

The Radical Status Quo

Mr. Nixon stood behind his desk in one of his rare press conferences, tanned, formidable, and as tightly in control of himself behind his suave manner and switch-button smile as a prizefighter entering the ring. Across the room he looked at a painting of George Washington (before he had those dentures). Mr. Nixon has a star-like lucite presidential seal on his desk and an enameled American flag in his lapel. Nothing radical here, surely; the very image, in a way, of solid conservatism.

And yet who is the "radical," he or George McGovern? In America today the gap between the rich and poor is widening. The income of the richest 20 percent of the families is greater than that of all 60 percent at the bottom. Taxes are so arranged that one oil company recently paid only 1.2 percent in federal taxes on nearly one billion dollars in net income.

With a tax revolt in America brewing the "radical" may be the one who supports things as they are. There are almost twice as many people unemployed today as when Mr. Nixon took office. Price and wage controls of Phase II haven't been a great success. And just the other day Mr. Nixon was down in Texas promising his big campaign contributors—big bankers and big oil men—that not only would he not touch the oil depletion loophole, he wanted to make it bigger. We aren't used to this inflammatory talk; it rather scared us. "Rather than moving in the direction of reducing the depletion allowance," he told the oil tycoons, "the government should do more to provide incentives for people to go out and explore for oil."

Radical is a matter of definition. Whether George McGovern will get anywhere with his share-the-wealth proposals (or even get the nomination) we don't know. We watched him the other day as he set off on his final campaign trip to the South. We agree with historian James MacGregor Burns that McGovern is a Woodrow Wilson type, more flexible than Wilson, perhaps, but a man quietly dedicated to his overall objectives. He made a little speech to the crowd in which he remarked in his low-keyed style that the Democrats are writing a platform of "deep fundamental change." Peaceful, orderly and constructive change, he hoped, "but the essential commitment is to change."

Why does he want to mess around with taxes anyway; what is wrong with them as they are? Well, here is an instance cited by labor leaders—the breadwinner with family of four earns a salary of $10,000 a year and pays federal income taxes in 1972 of $905. A taxpayer with the same income from sale of stock or land pays only $98 in taxes. And if the $10,000 income were from state or municipal bonds he would pay no taxes at all! The burden is on the earned income, on the man driving a taxi, standing at an assembly line, stringing wires from poles. The worker can't escape taxes on earned income because they are withheld right from his paycheck. On the other hand, he may work for a big steel corporation which didn't pay any federal income taxes in 1971. It was perfectly legitimate, of course—the company had tax shelters—but there are no tax shelters for earned income.

Nixon economist Herbert Stein made a strong point the other day, we thought, when he sarcastically dismissed the McGovern tax reforms as unrealistic because the poor don't have much political power, he said, and the unpoor aren't prepared to share much of their income with them. We think that is true and anybody who has watched Congress sidle around tax reform realizes it. But there is a degree of disparity between rich and poor which is dangerous and which society finds intolerable. We think that state has just about come.

A brilliant new study by the respected Brookings Institution says that $17 billion in additional federal funds will be required in the next two years simply to meet built-in increases in the cost of continuing governmental social programs. Not a single new social program need be voted; the Treasury will still need $17 billion more. Almost certainly new taxes will be needed. President Nixon has managed to create three back-to-back Treasury deficits that total $75 billion to $100 billion. That is no mean feat in itself and again it points to higher taxes. Mr. Nixon is toying with a huge national sales (value added) tax. Again the burden would be on middle and low incomes.

The Brookings study notes that there have been three tax cuts, in 1964, in 1969 and in 1971. If we were paying taxes on 1963 rates the Treasury would have $26 billion a year more than it does. These cuts gave a bigger bonus to the rich than the poor. (Economists say that "regressive" rather than "progressive" taxes have increased.) The graduated income tax is mildly progressive because its rates rise with income; but there are so many loopholes this doesn't amount to much. The top rate for the very rich man is supposed to be 70 percent but a study by tax expert Joseph Pechman ("The Rich, the Poor and the Taxes They Pay") shows the effective rate for the top 1 percent is only around 26 percent. McGovern is trying to make the legal rates real.

It wasn't always like this. Treasury secretary Guthrie in 1856 wailed of his hardship, too much revenue. Like the mournful captain of a leaky ship he saw the surplus keep pouring in. He complained that he had used $45 million of the beastly stuff to pay bills, and thank God for the public debt!—without it "the accumulated sum would have acted, fatally, on the banks and on trade."

There was a budget surplus every year from 1866 to 1893. Coolidge's budget director lamented that "we seem helpless in the face of the country's continuing prosperity." The more taxes were cut, he moaned, the more the inflow rose: "At the end of the year we are called upon to determine what to do with surplus millions." This was the normal, peacetime fiscal dividend, based on national growth.

Big defense spending, big welfare payments, big tax loopholes have solved *that* problem! Payroll taxes (on middle incomes) increase, and income taxes (on the affluent) decline through loopholes. "Rich people benefit from preferential tax treatment far more than do those with low incomes," says the Brookings study coolly. McGovern must have been reading it.

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THE NEW REPUBLIC *A Journal of Politics and the Arts, Vol. 167, No. 2, Issue 3002, July 8, 1972. Published weekly (except the issues of January 1, July 29, August 12, and August 26, 1972) and distributed by* The New Republic, *1244 19th St., N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036. Phone FEderal 8-2494. Single copy 50¢; Yearly subscriptions $15; Foreign $18; Armed Forces personnel or students, $10. Send all remittances and correspondence about Subscriptions, undelivered copies, and changes of address to Subscription Department,* The New Republic, *381 West Center Street, Marion, Ohio 43302. Copyright 1972 by Harrison-Blaine of New Jersey, Inc. Item g. Second Class Postage Paid at Washington, D. C. Indexed in Reader's Guide.*

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Listen Here, John Mitchell

Presidents since FDR have authorized their attorneys general—meaning, subject to controls that run the gamut from loose to looser, the late J. Edgar Hoover—to tap wires and use other means of electronic surveillance. It all started with FDR approving this sort of thing in matters "involving the defense of the nation." Harry Truman made it perfectly clear, so to speak, that he had in mind more than just the gathering of foreign intelligence, as by tapping embassies, for example. Rather he authorized wiretapping, all too broadly, "in cases vitally affecting the domestic security." It is questionable whether President Nixon's attorney general went any farther, although the language he used was characteristically more assertive. He was empowered to tap, said John Mitchell, in order "to gather intelligence information deemed necessary to protect the nation from attempts of domestic organizations to attack and subvert the existing structure of the government." But by Mitchell's time, the law had changed.

Wiretapping, it had been held in the 1920s, was not subject to the constitutional restraints imposed by the Fourth Amendment; it was not a "search" in the constitutional sense, and could be conducted without a judicial warrant. The Federal Communications Act forbade wiretapping absolutely where the act applied, making no provision for warrants, but the coverage of the act was somewhat ambiguous. The choice facing Presidents before Mr. Nixon, therefore, was to take advantage of the ambiguity, or not tap at all. The halfway house of tapping only when they could obtain a judicial warrant was not open to them. In 1967, however, the Supreme Court held that wiretapping was, too, a search in terms of the Fourth Amendment, and was unconstitutional if conducted without a judicial warrant. And then in 1968, Congress made provision for the issuance of warrants.

Instead of going to court for their warrants, however, as earlier administrations could not do, Nixon and Mitchell continued to tap on their own authority, claiming that the President, as commander in chief and head of the government, was entitled to tap when necessary to protect the government. Originally the claim was, breathtakingly enough, that neither Court nor Congress could say him nay. In the end, the administration admitted that Congress could modify or limit the President's authority, and in the end, the Supreme Court

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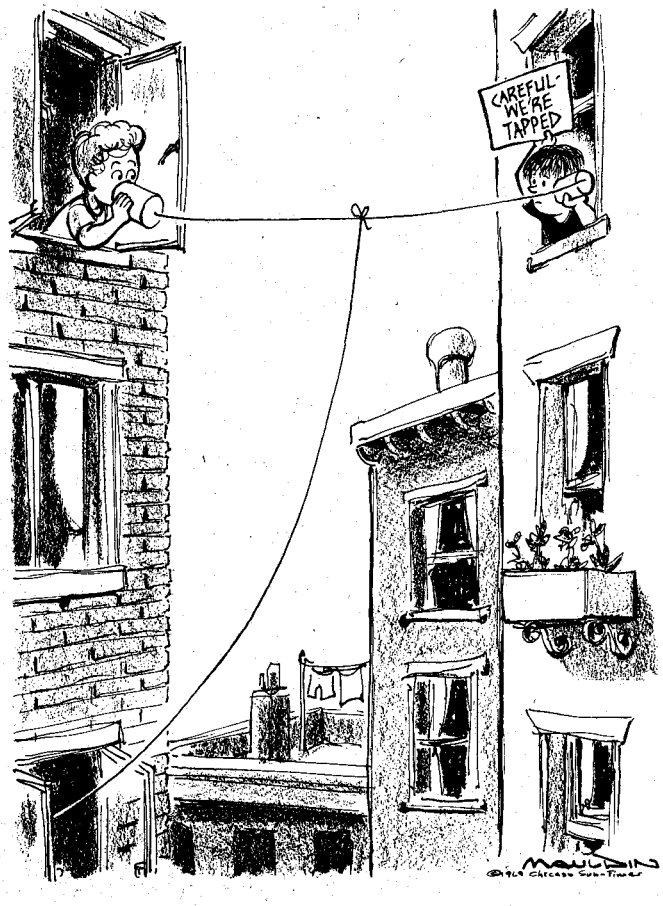
said nay. Yes, Mr. Mitchell, there is a Supreme Court.

The Court's decision which came down on June 19 was unanimous, though not unqualified. To begin with, Justice White concurred only on a narrow and very technical ground, and the Chief Justice also concurred only in the result, without joining the opinion of the Court. That opinion itself, by Justice Powell, went out of its way to suggest that warrants for tapping in internal security cases could be issued on looser standards, and that their coverage might be broader and vaguer, than in cases of ordinary crime. After all, said the Court, the purpose in matters of internal security might be to prevent rather than to detect illegal activity. At present, under the Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968, procedures, standards, coverage and purpose are the same for ordinary crime as for domestic subversion. But the Court was gratuitously inviting Congress to write special, easier rules, which is hardly the Court's business.

Another kind of tapping and surveillance without warrant that the government engages in was not touched by the Court's decision. This is the gathering of foreign intelligence by tapping and otherwise listening in on agents and embassies of foreign governments. Everybody does it, and presumably we have to do it also. Warrants wouldn't make much sense in this area, and the Court is not likely ever to require them. But the Court is likely sometime to get a borderline case, in which foreign and domestic intelligence gathering are mixed. There is no telling what it would do about that.



Moonlighting Congressmen

A study by the National Committee for an Effective Congress informs us that more than one-third of the 435 members of the House of Representatives have income-producing financial, business, or professional affiliations outside the House—law firms, banks, insurance companies, real estate agencies and farms, plus a few with oil, broadcasting, and construction interests. The survey was based on information submitted to the House Ethics Committee under rules passed in the wake of the Bobby Baker scandal. They require public disclosure of the following: most management positions or ownership interests in excess of $5000 from which the congressman received $1000 or more in the preceding year, honoraria exceeding $300, income exceeding $5000 for services rendered or capital gains from a single source, and indebtedness over $10,000 to a single creditor. The rules fall short of full disclosure: dollar amounts are withheld from public view. Senate rules are meaningless; only honoraria, political contributions and gifts are listed.

It can be argued that congressmen need income from other sources. Representatives are paid $42,500 a year, plus expenses for a certain number of trips home, office rental, and general office costs; in addition, representatives receive $157,092 yearly for staff; Senate staffs are financed on a scale from $295,938 a year for the smaller states to $530,130 for the largest. The amounts are probably insufficient. Most congressmen maintain two homes, one in Washington and one in their home district and have high travel and entertainment bills. The NCEC feels that if congressmen were required to give up all outside income a salary increase would be justified.

Financial need may be an argument for permitting congressmen to pick up extra cash on the side, but it's no argument for keeping what's earned secret. Influential congressmen who maintain connections with a law firm can be invaluable to clients of that firm seeking favors, such as out of court settlement of government suits or preferential legislation tacked on in committee. The business of those clients can in turn be invaluable to a law firm bearing the congressman's name. Congressmen who remain directors of banks or have significant stockholdings in a corporation are put in an awkward situation when voting, either in committee or on the floor, on legislation directly affecting those interests. Occasionally it goes beyond voting: one example is Rep. Earle Cabell (D, Texas), who has intervened with such federal agencies as the National Labor Relations Board and the Redevelopment Land Agency on behalf of the Southland Corporation, of which the Texas dairy he founded is a subsidiary and in which he has more than a $100,000 stake.

The most obvious arena for potential conflict of interest in the House is the much maligned Banking and Currency Committee, which handles all legislation

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dealing with banking, federal housing, government lending, wage and price controls, and credit. Six members of that committee serve as director or own stock in at least one bank. (This would in almost all cases mean stockholdings over $5000 in market value or earning over $1000 during the preceding year; disclosure of anything under that is not required and is rarely provided by congressmen.) Another committee member is a partner in a realty company; two others own stock in financial corporations.

Banking, real estate, lending, and building lobbies spend a great deal of time with this committee. It has not been unknown for individual banks to seek leverage: Henry B. Gonzalez (D, Texas), on Banking and Currency since 1961, reports that in 1963 he was offered (and rejected) $14,000 in stock and a directorship of a bank in his district.

The conflict of interest problem is illustrated by HR6778, the 1970 legislation extending the strict federal regulations of the 1956 Bank Holding Company Act to holding companies with only one bank. Before the bill got to the floor, Banking and Currency chairman, Wright Patman, was set back in committee by what an aide called one of the strongest lobbying efforts by the banking industry ever seen. The key vote against Patman in committee came on an amendment urged by pro-banking forces which, in Patman's words, "gives the bank holding companies exactly what they want." Among those voting for the amendment (which passed 20 to 15) were two committee members who at the time owned stock in a bank: Robert Stephens (D, Ga.) and William Stanton (R, Ohio), who has since divested himself of the stock. After supporting the weakened bill in order to get it past the committee, Patman engineered approximately 15 amendments on the floor, returning the bill to its original strength. At that point three committee members who reported stock in banks in 1971 voted to "recommit" (thus kill) the bill: Stanton, Thomas Ashley (D, Ohio) and Thomas Rees (D, Calif.).

While some members of House Banking and Currency who hold stock in banks have voted consistently with banking interests, others have voted consistently the other way. Not all congressmen who have outside sources of income should be presumed guilty of bias. When asked about his stockholdings, Rep. Stephens explained that there is as much conflict of interest when someone has a savings account or pays income tax as when he owns bank stock, since the committee also deals with legislation affecting interest and tax rates.

But at a time when public confidence in the credibility of government is flagging, all the cards should be on the table, thus allowing constituents to decide whether a congressman with a potential conflict of interest is serving that interest or the public's. Legislation backed by the NCEC has just been introduced in the House and Senate by Representatives Mikva and Fray and Senators Mathias, Chiles, Nelson, Pearson, Eagleton, Church, and Brooke. Their bill would require congressmen and congressional employees earning over $22,000 per year to file annual reports disclosing, with dollar amounts: 1) any source of income over $100 per annum; 2) any asset or liability in excess of $5000; and 3) any transaction exceeding $5000 during the preceding year. Such legislation is badly needed, but if it is to pass outside pressure must be kept up. It will not come from within.

Bad Medicine

Some weeks ago HEW Secretary Richardson said that hospitals and nursing homes which had received Hill-Burton federal aid money would have to provide more free medical care for the poor. Under his suggestion (*NR*, May 6), the required level of services would have to be at a level not less than five percent of an institution's operating costs and not less than 25 percent of its net income. This wouldn't take care of all the needs of the poor by a long shot, but it was an improvement, and it seemed like a victory for the legal aid lawyers who had brought suits in four states and the District of Columbia seeking more free care. The Hill-Burton Act, passed 26 years ago, reads that institutions getting help must in turn provide a "reasonable amount of uncompensated (free) care." The guidelines enunciated by Richardson were prompted by those suits and were HEW's belated bid to define "reasonable."

But now Richardson, in what appears to be his final decision, has weakened his previous charity-care suggestion. The new order tells Hill-Burton institutions they must provide free care to the poor at the rate of only three percent of operating costs and/or 10 percent of their original Hill-Burton loan or grant. But even this reduced obligation is limited to the period of the original 25-year loan or 20-year grant, and so a large number of the 6308 hospitals and other facilities which have received $3.7 billion in taxpayer aid will be exempt. About 85 percent of Hill-Burton-aided hospitals already meet this new "reasonable" level test. Under Richardson's original suggestion, 85 percent of hospitals would have had to increase charity care.

Why the switch? For one thing, the seven-member Federal Hospital Council recommended the more lenient plan. (The council is one of those toothless, advisory groups which permeate the capital and work hand in glove with the government agencies.) Then also, Richardson got about 2000 letters, many from members of the American Hospital Association, and all but five percent opposed the original guidelines. The association warned that private patient rates would have to go up (again) to cover the costs of the expanded charity care.

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Revving Up For Miami

The main event doesn't begin 'til July 10, but the previews of the Democratic National Convention give a good indication of what's to come. Three standing committees—platform, rules, and credentials—met in Washington prior to Miami, and from the looks of the delegates party reform has made some differences. They are blacker, younger, and there are more women.

On the Rules Committee, they were also committed to solidifying the gains made over the past four years, and to extending them. Winner-take-all primaries, optional for 1972, will be banned in the future. The committee also adopted a proposal for a new Party Charter which will include a mid-term policy convention and an enlarged national committee, both structured to maximize rank-and-file control. Democratic state chairmen were so offended to find themselves reduced to half-votes on the national committee that they produced a minority report and promise to fight it out on the floor in Miami. The charter was no more popular with the Democratic caucus in the House of Representatives, which rejected it 105-50, calling for an "investigation."

On platform, McGovern's agents were caught in the throes of an effort to get and hold the final handful of votes needed for a first-ballot nomination. So the word was accommodation. On amnesty, abortion, and marijuana, the three issues tagging McGovern as radical, only amnesty even rates a mention. But what McGovernites feared most was a platform that Alabama Governor George Wallace would denounce, which is exactly what they got. Busing will probably be the major floor fight emanating from the work of the platform committee.

The most important action was on credentials, where the anticipated workload was so heavy that the national committee chartered a late plane to Miami.

The agenda of the Democratic National Convention Committee on Credentials included hearings on a record number of challenges to the credentials of delegations to the Miami Beach convention. The old record of 18 was set in 1968; this year there are nearly 80, 17 from Texas alone, and more are coming in.

There are two views of the effect that ten days will have on the Democratic Party. Reformers see the credentials committee as vital to the enforcement of the McGovern reform guidelines and to the continued democratization of the party. Others foresee minority reports, floor fights, and court suits, all leading to chaos in Miami Beach and defeat in November.

But the vast majority of the challenges are not designed to produce deep divisions among the delegations, without unseating elected delegates and without disturbing the presidential composition of the delegation. There are really only two challenges with potential to seriously divide the convention, one against Mayor Richard J. Daley and 59 of his companions from the Cook County Democratic organization, and the other against the 271 delegates acquired by George McGovern in California's winner-take-all primary. At this point, there is little doubt that both will go to the floor. The mayor was the symbol of the 1968 convention, which produced the reforms. By making himself the unequivocal exception to the new rules, he has assumed the same role for 1972. Daley has said that the convention won't dare unseat him, but he is counting on a long shot. Nine of every ten delegates in Miami Beach will be first-time participants and most of them know they are on the floor only because of the new rules. They are not likely to suspend them for Richard J. Daley.

The mayor continues to prejudice his case by his belligerence. When the challengers met in congressional district caucuses to select an alternative delegation, Daley delegates, precinct captains, and patronage workers stormed the meetings, shouted through bullhorns and physically manhandled challenge coordinators. Vito Mazullo, an organization backer, pointed at the coordinator in his district and yelled, "We'll follow you to the grave!" More indication of Daley's trouble came in the report of the credentials committee hearing examiner, Cecil Poole. Poole upheld every contention made by the challengers, finding that Daley's violation of the rules was "deliberate, and calculated."

While the Daley challenge was carefully framed on violations of the reform guidelines, the Humphrey-inspired California challenge took precisely the opposite tack. In seeking to proportionally divide the California votes among all candidates who ran in the primary, Humphrey supporters attack the McGovern-Fraser Commission rules, claiming that the commission misinterpreted its mandate from the 1968 convention. Winner-take-all systems should have been outlawed altogether, they argue, and delegates should have been divided according to each candidate's popular support. Some commission members agreed with the Humphrey position at the time the issue of proportional representation was debated in 1969; but after full discussion, that alternative was explicitly rejected in the commission's final report. So during the past four years of intensive reform in the Democratic Party, all 50 states labored under the belief that winner-take-all systems would be legal for 1972.

There is little disagreement that such systems are unfair, but over 40 states used some variation of winner-take-all in selecting delegates this year, and all candidates profited in some measure. McGovern won all the delegates in California with only 45 percent of the vote. In Florida, which is winner-take-all

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in each congressional district, George Wallace won 42 percent of the popular vote and 93 percent of the delegates. Humphrey himself profited from perhaps this year's most extreme application of a plurality-rule principle. In Ohio, all 38 at-large delegates were awarded to the candidate with the highest statewide vote in the primary. Humphrey led with 41.5 percent, compared to 39.3 percent for McGovern. That tiny margin captured a bloc of Humphrey delegates larger than the total Democratic delegations from almost half the states. Humphrey forces managed to carry a narrow majority of the credentials committee (73 to 65), with Muskie, Mills, Wallace and Jackson supporters voting almost solidly with the California challenge against McGovern. The most carefully watched delegates on the floor were the five sent by Mayor Daley; they also supported the challenge. The vote destroyed whatever spirit of accommodation might have existed on the committee. One delegate flatly dismissed the legal arguments offered by lawyers for the opposing sides: "this is nothing more than a case of blatant political hijacking," he said. So McGovern's managers have no choice but to take the matter to court or carry the battle to Miami Beach, where they believe they will have greater strength than on the committee.

On the legal merits, the California challenge cannot stand, according to hearing officer Burke Marshall who took less than 24 hours to return his report. But because it is politically inspired and because the new convention rules are predicated on fairness, it just might win on the floor. Challenged delegations may not vote on their own credentials. Thus, when the California challenge comes up, 271 McGovern delegates from that state will be unable to participate, dramatically altering the political complexion of the convention. Initially, Humphrey wanted no part of the challenge, saying that he knew the rules when he went in, and would not try to change them after he lost. That reasoning has now given way to political expediency. The political effects of the California challenge cannot be overstated—simply put, it's the last gasp of the stop-McGovern movement. If it succeeds, the challenge could deny George McGovern the nomination. But it could also end the "rule of law" atmosphere so carefully nurtured in the Democratic Party for the past four years, and so much in evidence in other credentials deliberations in Washington. If winner-take-all is outlawed in California, some or all of the delegates from 42 other states might also be subject to challenge, thereby ending any possibility of an orderly convention in Miami, and, perhaps, any Democrat's chances of beating Nixon in November.

Ken Bode

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The Nixon Watch

After the Summits

Here are some judgments, drawn from the public record and set down in advance of the press conference scheduled by the President for June 29, on the results to date of the summit meetings in Peking and Moscow and of Henry Kissinger's return visit to Peking on June 19-23. The record drawn upon is chiefly the one provided by the President at a press conference on June 22 and by Kissinger at four press conferences in the Soviet Union, at another one at the White House when he returned from Peking, and at a question-and-answer session with members of Congress on June 15.

My reading of Kissinger's statements in the Soviet Union and in Washington, along with the formal documents issued after the Peking and Moscow summits, is that the President succeeded beyond his hopes in one tremendously important respect and essentially failed in another respect. His success was in bringing the United States, the People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union measurably nearer to that "new international relationship" which he and Kissinger declared to be the primary objective of both summit conferences and of the years of preparation that made them possible. The essence, the indispensable requirement, of that relationship is that each of the super-powers in its dealings with the others give precedence to its own "supreme interests" and to the bearing of those interests upon each other over the interests of the major powers' satellites and dependents. In the terms of greatest current importance to Americans, this means that the United States subordinate its obligation to South Vietnam and its proclaimed interest in a satisfactory outcome of the Vietnam war to its developing relationships with Communist China and the Soviet Union. It also means, of course, that Communist China and the Soviet Union subordinate their obligations to North Vietnam and their interest in an outcome of the Vietnam and Indochina war that would be satisfactory to them to the necessity, now recognized by both Peking and Moscow, for a stable and peaceful relationship with the United States.

Here we come to the President's seeming failure in Peking and Moscow, a failure that has to be defined in relative and extremely uncertain terms. It was to persuade the Peking and Moscow leaderships, principally meaning Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai in Peking and Leonid Brezhnev in Moscow, that they have it in their power to persuade if not compel the Hanoi leadership to so alter its bargaining stance in Paris that what Kissinger calls a solution of the Vietnam war "which is just and reasonable for both sides" may at last become negotiable. Kissinger has repeatedly denied that this, stated in these terms, was the President's hope or objective in Peking and

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Moscow. He has said, and was still saying when he returned from his latest trip to Peking, that the Nixon administration has never asked either the Peking or Moscow governments to "do anything" of the kind. He went so far as to say in Washington on June 24 that "we have no information about the relationship of North Vietnam to its two principal allies."

The denial and the claim do not stand the test of known fact. Before and on May 8, when the President announced the mining of North Vietnam's harbors and the resumption of heavy bombing of North Vietnam, he and Kissinger complained in the plainest and most bitter language that the Soviet Union had made the current Hanoi offensives against South Vietnam possible with its supply of weapons and that the Soviet leaders had misled Kissinger and Nixon into believing that Hanoi's chief negotiator, Le Duc Tho, was ready for productive negotiation with Kissinger. The publication last week of hitherto secret portions of the Pentagon Papers demonstrated that abortive attempts at negotiation in the late 1960s, in which Kissinger was deeply involved for the Johnson administration, rested in part upon a conviction that the Moscow government could assist and was assisting in pressing Hanoi toward useful negotiation. It is believable that Kissinger and Nixon learned from the earlier experience and failure that there are limits to what may be expected of either Peking or Moscow. It is not believable that no effort to renew the attempts occurred at the Nixon summits. Kissinger's frequent refusals to discuss "the substance" of the discussions is just one indication that a great deal that has yet to be published passed between Nixon and his hosts.

It is evident from events that the failure was offset by a very considerable success. The events that make this evident are that Moscow allowed its summit with Nixon to proceed after he announced his determination to do everything in his power to deny Communist China and the Soviet Union further supply access to North Vietnam and that Kissinger was, as he said, "treated with extraordinary courtesy" when he returned to Peking in June. In actions though not in rhetoric, the Peking and Moscow governments have come very close to telling Hanoi that its war is no longer their war. This they have done by tolerating the mining and bombing of North Vietnam and the affront to both the Chinese and Soviet governments that these actions and the Nixon rhetoric that accompanied and still accompanies them constitute. This alone could be—I suspect that it is—the basis for Kissinger's repeated indications at the press conference following his return from Peking that he and the President expect to be in a position to announce that "serious negotiations" with Hanoi are about to be resumed.

A question yet to be answered is the extent, if any, to which the President has subordinated or is prepared to subordinate his interest—he would say, the United States' interest—in the outcome of the Vietnam and Indochina war to the larger relationships that he has labored so long and so hard to develop. The best answer to that question at this writing is another question. Is it conceivable that the Peking and Moscow leaderships would have subordinated their interest in the outcome, to the extent that they have, without a credible indication from the President that he is ready to make some return in kind? A return in kind would have to be a readiness to settle the war on terms short of the ones that he proclaimed on May 8: a return of all American prisoners; "an internationally supervised cease-fire"; a cessation of all American "acts of force" throughout Indochina; the withdrawal within four months of all remaining American forces in South Vietnam; and, at and after that point, "negotiations on a political settlement by the Vietnamese themselves." The President's press secretary, announcing a further reduction of American forces in South Vietnam from 49,000 to 39,000 by September 1, said that the bombing and mining of North Vietnam "are continuing and will continue" until these terms for negotiation are accepted. At Henry Kissinger's post-Peking press conference, however, there were some suggestions of departure from the May 8 terms, and particularly from the undertaking to leave the political settlement to "the Vietnamese themselves."

Kissinger appeared to place total reliance on the bombing and mining and to stand by the latest Nixon terms when he said: "We hope that a further study of the President's May 8th proposal, plus the failure of the [North Vietnamese] offensive to succeed in achieving a military solution for North Vietnam, will convince the leaders of the Democratic Republic to enter serious negotiations." But, in what has to be read as a reference to the Peking and Moscow leaderships, he also said that "we are prepared to listen seriously to the views of others who also have an interest in bringing the war to a conclusion." He remarked that "our efforts over the last weeks" to find a basis for renewed and conclusive negotiation "certainly have not been to bring about a purely military solution." And, in what I took to be his most significant statement, he said: "We expect that when the war is finally settled, it will be through direct negotiations between the North Vietnamese *and American* negotiators." There wasn't one word about leaving the political settlement to "the Vietnamese themselves." This could mean that Richard Nixon intends to be right in there, preventing the imposition of a Communist government upon South Vietnam. My reading of it is that the President hopes and intends to be right in there, during the campaign months of 1972, settling this war on the best terms that he can get and at any necessary cost to his Saigon clients.

John Osborne

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By the Book

Sen. Harold Hughes of Iowa, Muskie's convention manager, did not support the challenge to California's "winner-take-all" primary won by McGovern. Hughes was vice chairman of the McGovern (now Fraser) Commission and clearly recalls the bitter battle over whether to give a special exemption to the California system. Hughes fought the exception; in fact, he led the fight against it while Fred Dutton, now a McGovern campaigner, was fighting for it on behalf of California. Hughes lost that battle inside the commission by one vote and is now prepared to stand behind the guidelines he helped write up.

A Good Word for Wallace

A key liberal member of the House Ways and Means Committee, Rep. Richard Fulton (D) of Tennessee, may be in some trouble with his August 3 primary opponent—Casey Jenkins of Nashville. Jenkins is a leader of the anti-busing forces and recently lost a race for mayor. However, Jenkins endeared himself to the thousands of Wallace supporters in the district during the recent state convention. The delegates elected from Memphis (Shelby County) have stated publicly they won't vote for Wallace on the first ballot although he carried the district and they are at least morally bound to support him. During the convention, Jenkins appeared briefly on the floor to move the Memphis delegates be removed for publicly saying they wouldn't back Wallace. The convention declined but Jenkins had his moment in front of the TV cameras. Fulton has traditionally had strong labor and black support in Nashville; however, reapportionment added two small rural counties with a heavy Wallace vote to the district and the Fulton camp is worried.

Self Sacrifice

Chuck Nabors, a key McGovern worker in Utah and the Rocky Mountain area, made his case before the caucus of McGovern supporters at the Utah state convention so well it cost him a place on the state's delegation to Miami Beach. There was a move in the McGovern caucus to deny spots to Sen. Frank Moss (D) and Gov. Calvin Rampton (D), both Muskie backers; however, Nabors pleaded with the McGovern delegates on behalf of the national organization not to deliberately alienate the two top Democrats in the state by defeating them on the convention floor. It worked. However, it apparently caused enough resentment in the McGovern caucus to defeat Nabors, who lost by a handful of votes.

The Recreational Land Rip-off

Early this year Horizon Corporation, a thriving land promoter, advertised in *The New York Times* that "In 1962 . . . one half acre residential lots . . . were being bought from us at $400. . . . Today comparable lots are being bought from us for an average price of $1100. . . ." More than 100,000 families have invested in Horizon land, and many of them own lots in Horizon's 150,000-acre Rio Communities tract, south of Albuquerque. Horizon's advertisement did not disclose the highly pertinent fact that, over the years, no resale market has developed for most of the lots in the Rio Communities, although Horizon officials will acknowledge the point, when pressed.

Recently I questioned out-of-state owners who advertised their Rio Communities lots in the Albuquerque papers. Each one had first approached Horizon for help in selling his property, and received cold comfort: "Horizon told me they are not in business to resell." "They could not sell my land for me. They suggested I go to a broker or sell it myself. They had their own lots to sell." "They would like to help but they did not have a real estate license." Horizon might have afforded the license; the company claimed 1971 corporate assets of $150 million.

Another promoter, AMREP Corporation, has been selling unimproved lots from its 93,000-acre Rio Rancho Estates tract, northwest of Albuquerque, to out-of-state buyers since 1961. Vexing resale problems afflict this tract, also. Mr. Peter Mandrik, of Sandusky, Ohio, for example, bought two acres from AMREP in 1968 for $5115. The salesman told him that "if an owner decided to sell, the company would . . . resell the property fast with no loss to the buyer." In 1971 Mr. Mandrik found that, "unfortunately, this salesman is not with the company any more and . . . the company does not engage in any of his promises."

An Arkansas investor bought an acre from AMREP in 1964 for $1495. "The salesman said that within five years the property would increase in value, that housing units could be built on the property, or business buildings, and that I could lease them for 99 years for $2500 a year. I had had a heart attack, and knew I would be incapacitated for the rest of my life, so I thought this a good investment. . . ." AMREP offered no help on resale, Albuquerque brokers were uninter-

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ested in listing his property, and no buyers responded to his advertisement.

A great deal of the promotional land on the market today is in Florida, the Southwest, and the Mountain West. Most of the buyers live in the East and Midwest. They are quite uninformed about real estate values in the promotional areas, and their ignorance has invited the systematic misrepresentation on which the industry depends. It has also led to increasing sales and high profits for promoters. Horizon's sales rose from $58.3 million in 1970 to $79.8 million in 1971, while AMREP reported land sales of $44.8 million for 1971. Dozens of other companies profit from this tainted commerce, and total promotional land sales may well exceed $2 billion in 1972.

The industry endured a stressful shakeout in 1963 when widespread fraud and flagrant misrepresentation came to light. Surviving land promoters have learned to manage their misrepresentations more discreetly. They have been aided, fortuitously, by "regulatory" acts passed by a number of states, which actually work against the interests of consumers. In New York State, for example, the secretary of state approves, in advance, advertisements such as the ones Horizon runs in the *Times*. The state itself thus tacitly endorses the promoters' misrepresentation-by-omission.

California, alone among the states, provides effective consumer protection, as far as it can be done at the state level. A 1963 law classifies out-of-state land sales as offerings of securities. Promoters of such land must register with the state real estate commissioner, who can inspect the lands and require the offering prices to be "fair, just and equitable." Further, if the land is sold as residential property, as is the case with most promotional land, California requires that all necessary improvements be installed to allow homes to be built on the land. As a result, Horizon vice president L. E. Steele told me, "We don't operate in California; it's too expensive to meet their requirements." California's requirements, however, demand no more than legitimate land developers expect to perform in the normal course of their business.

Other states have been unwilling to follow California's example. Even California cannot control sales made to its residents from outside the state. The basic remedy must be applied at the federal level, through control of interstate land sales. In the Congress the move to protect consumers in such sales has been led by Senator Harrison A. Williams, Jr., who chaired a series of hearings on land sales from 1964 to 1967. He gained strong support from Senators Brooke (R, Mass) and Mondale (D, Minn) each of whom, when serving as his state's attorney general, had acquired first-hand experience with land sales abuses.

Senator Williams' efforts led in 1969 to the establishment of the Office of Interstate Land Sales Registration (OILSR) in the Department of Housing and Urban Development. OILSR requires "full disclosure" of certain facts about land offered in interstate commerce. The facts are published in a "property report" which must be handed to all purchasers of land that comes under OILSR's jurisdiction. The buyers then have 48 hours to cancel the deal.

Some of the land offered in interstate commerce is, of course, not "promotional" but consists of legitimate real estate developments. Most of OILSR's problems, however, concern promoters. Under a series of weak administrators, OILSR until recently has been more concerned with its own problems than with land sales abuses. George Bernstein, who was appointed head of the agency last March, has begun pushing promoters to live up to the statements in their property reports. This novel exercise of authority has already secured a few indictments and convictions.

OILSR, however, lacks some essential weapons. The agency cannot compel promoters to reveal the prices they paid for their land, or the current market value of comparable real estate. Thus, the property reports do not disclose that Horizon paid $140 per acre in 1968 for land the company now offers, unimproved, at $3200 per acre and up. Nor is Horizon required to reveal to OILSR and the buying public that no resale market exists for this land. The most important facts about many promotions thus go undisclosed, and OILSR cannot hope to become a fully effective consumer protection agency until this fault is remedied.

Paul M. Sears

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Why So Few Black Homeowners?

More than a decade ago, the US Civil Rights Commission called attention to the persistence of racial discrimination in home financing. Banks and savings associations used a variety of gimmicks to avoid making mortgage loans to blacks, even those with adequate incomes and job security. Certain streets, neighborhoods were "redlined" by mortgage officers, arbitrarily written off as "undesirable" for loans because of their racial and economic composition. Federal agencies which supervise and regulate financial institutions and lenders—the Federal Home Loan Bank Board, Federal Deposit Insurance Corp., Federal Reserve Board and Comptroller of the Currency—were aware of the discrimination, but did nothing about it. Then in 1968, Title 8 of the Civil Rights Act

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imposed on these agencies an obligation to promote fair housing.

Practically nothing has changed: blacks still find it tough to get home financing, districts still are redlined; the four federal agencies still look the other way. Only the Home Loan Bank Board has a set of rules pending to curb discrimination, and they fall short of what's needed. In its proposed regulations, the board condones "site economics" as one factor to be considered in home loan applications; the phrase could be construed as condoning redlining. Of 6073 loans made by savings and loans through January 20, 1972, under the federally subsidized Housing Opportunity Allowance Program, only two percent were made to blacks. If these lenders make so few loans to blacks under a federally subsidized housing program, their record in the unsubsidized housing market is bound to be even worse.

Reaction within the financial lending community to any move suggesting enforcement of loan equality has been uniformly hostile. Reacting to the Home Loan Bank Board's proposed regulations, savings associations have complained about extra record-keeping costs, objected to the use of equality logotypes in advertisements and to posting of signs in lobbies informing applicants of their right to file a complaint if they suspect discrimination. The American Bankers Association objected to lobby signs because they might lead to "a loss of freedom to plan lobby displays in the best interest of shareholders and depositors." The White House has put no pressure on the federal agencies to comply with the 1968 Civil Rights Act. Few persons, particularly the poor and minority group members, realize fair housing laws exist. They may know they're being discriminated against by lenders, but they don't know where to complain and they fear that if they do complain they'll never get mortgage money. In three years, the four federal regulatory agencies received only nine complaints against lending discrimination; the Civil Rights Section of the Justice Department has received fewer. The initiative must come from the agencies, and so far it hasn't. The Civil Rights Commission noted last year that "none of the [four] agencies has agreed to require member institutions to include non-discriminatory clauses in their agreements with builders and developers."

Pressure on the federal agencies has come primarily from the Center for National Policy Review, a private organization affiliated with Washington's Catholic University and headed by William L. Taylor, a former staff director of the Civil Rights Commission. The center has lined up 170 economists and 34 civil rights groups in its attempt to pressure the agencies to adopt adequate anti-discrimination rules. Mr. Taylor has made these proposals:

► Agency regulations must be broad enough to prohibit not only "discriminatory practices that are invidiously intended, but also to prohibit practices which have a discriminatory effect, such as arbitrarily discounting all or part of a working wife's income in computing family income or redlining neighborhoods because of the income level of residents."

► Prohibit not only discrimination based on race, religion and national origin but also discrimination based on sex. Many black families are headed by working women.

► Require banks and savings and loans to adopt marketing policies better designed to attract minority customers, including ads in newspapers, radio and TV outlets that have substantial black audiences, and establishment of working ties with black brokers.

► Require that racial data be kept for all loan applications and that "data on race, income and other characteristics of neighborhoods be analyzed along with characteristics of applicants so that progress in an overall nondiscrimination program can be evaluated and the remaining areas of discrimination identified."

► A clear policy by the federal agencies that they will enforce their nondiscrimination regulations by making lending equality a part of regular examinations and impose sanctions where violations persist.

The wonder is that the regulators have not acted on their own. They enforce, sometimes with vigor, the laws which require financial institutions to be fiscally responsible. They examine the books to see if assets and debits are accurate. But they ignore, with impunity, the law which requires them to take affirmative actions to promote and insure fair housing. The government preaches that the way to end segregated schools is to end segregated housing. Yet here are federal agencies which in 1972 refuse to take the minimal steps needed to end a major form of housing discrimination.

Robert W. Dietsch

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Inhaling Cancer

Asbestos Under Fire

On June 7 the Department of Labor issued a new set of standards for the in-plant handling of asbestos—the widely used mineral that is one of the most virulent causes of cancer. The data now available on the hazards of inhaling tiny, indestructible asbestos fibers indicate that tough controls are needed. The question is: are the new controls tough enough?

Daniel Maciborsky thinks they aren't; but then in his position he isn't likely to find much comfort in federal standards, whatever they are. Maciborsky, 49

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years old, has mesothelioma, a rare and incurable type of cancer that strikes the membrane lining the abdominal cavity—as it did in his case—or a similar membrane that encases the lungs. Doctors have told him that in a few months the malignant tumor will harden and encircle his stomach, compressing the organ and preventing him from eating. By the end of the year he will be dead.

The medical experts who have studied Maciborsky attribute his development of mesothelioma to the large quantity of asbestos he inhaled over the last 31 years, while working at the Johns-Manville Corporation plant in Manville, New Jersey—the largest asbestos processing factory in the world. When Maciborsky went to work for Johns-Manville in 1941, the plant was full of thick white clouds of asbestos dust. According to the company's own estimates, the concentrations were as high as 100 asbestos fibers per cubic centimeter of air.

Today dust levels in the plant are much lower. Under the new regulations, set by the Department of Labor's Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA), employers must reduce concentrations from a five-fiber per cc average—the current standard—to two fibers by July 1, 1976. Still many medical researchers are concerned, because nobody knows how much asbestos is dangerous. It has never been established what constitutes a safe level of exposure. Another problem is that with rare exception, asbestos-induced cancers develop 20 or more years after initial exposure. Hence the effectiveness of the new controls will not be known until near the end of the century, after another generation of workers has passed through the plants.

Mesothelioma, Maciborsky's disease, is a medical oddity virtually unseen except among laborers who work with asbestos. But in Manville the disease, usually fatal within a year, is epidemic, according to Dr. Maxwell Borow, a local surgeon. In the last eight years at least 60 plant workers have died of the malignancy. Two other victims never worked at Johns-Manville. One of them was a woman who as a child often played on an asbestos waste dump. The other, also a woman, was married to an asbestos worker and washed her husband's work clothes regularly.

Manville's problems aren't unique. Dr. Irving Selikoff, a professor at the Mount Sinai School of Medicine and director of its environmental sciences laboratory in New York City, has made a number of large-scale epidemiological studies of asbestos workers in Manville and elsewhere, and the results are chilling. He has found that the workers die of lung cancer at a rate eight times that of the general population; of gastrointestinal (stomach, colon and rectum) cancer at four times the national average; and of asbestosis, a scarring of the lungs which impairs breathing, at a rate which cannot be compared because only asbestos workers are afflicted. Dr. Selikoff is able to extrapolate from his studies that of the 250,000 asbestos workers today, about 95,000 will die of asbestos-related cancer.

But the cancers and other diseases caused by the microscopic, club-shaped fibers are not confined to asbestos workers. It is probable that four or five million workers in other industries using asbestos, such as construction workers, steam-fitters, electricians, welders and masons, are also imperiled not to mention persons who come into contact with asbestos in everyday products and the air they breathe. Dr. John Thompson of the University of Capetown Medical School predicts that eventually, as asbestos accumulation in urban air leads to higher concentrations of the fibers in the lungs of urban dwellers, asbestos will overtake cigarettes as the major cause of lung cancer. The asbestos industry denies there is any risk to ordinary people, and most scientists believe that present levels of asbestos dust in urban air are not harmful. But they admit that they do not know what the dose-disease relationships are. The asbestos hazard has already prompted four cities—New York, Chicago, Boston and Philadelphia—to ban asbestos spraying on buildings under construction, and the federal Environmental Protection Agency is moving to abolish spraying nationwide. Some researchers were especially alarmed by a Mount Sinai study last year in which asbestos was found in the lungs of one of every 28 randomly selected New York City residents. "Every time you put on your brake to stop your car you blow some asbestos into the air, because brake linings are made of asbestos," says Dr. C. C. Johnson of the American Public Health Association in Washington, DC. "But we don't know what it means. There have to be studies."

The inability of scientists to determine a safe exposure level was a key problem for the government officials who set the new asbestos standards. In granting the industry a four-year reprieve, OSHA seemed influenced by warnings of asbestos companies that workers would have to be layed off and plants shut down if too stringent controls were adopted too soon. For most of its history the industry has operated without regulations of any kind. It was not until 1970 with the passage of the Occupational Safety and Health Act that controls were first imposed and even then they were voluntary. Last December, under pressure from the AFL-CIO, OSHA set a temporary "emergency" standard of five fibers per cc and announced that new controls would be set in six months.

Despite their apparent generosity toward the industry, the new regulations do take some steps in the direction of safer working places. They include requirements for ventilation, "wet" sweeping of asbestos to keep dust down, protective clothing and respirators, handling of asbestos waste in sealed containers, and employer-paid medical exams for workers.

These work-practice rules are gains that increasingly militant labor leaders fought hard for. Yet, most union

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officials aren't satisfied with the new regulations. "I'm cynical," says Sheldon Samuels, occupational health director of the AFL-CIO's Industrial Union Department. "How are they going to enforce these standards when they have so few government inspectors to go into the plants?" There are few cops on the beat. Only 40 industrial hygienists, according to the Labor Department, are employed by the government to make health inspections, and they have to cover not only the nation's 500 asbestos plants, but all the other factories in the US as well. The companies themselves are, in effect, the enforcers of the standards they are supposed to meet. Federal inspectors can do little more than monitor the industry's self-regulation. "That kind of system is totally unacceptable," says Dr. Selikoff, who is skeptical about the new controls. He calculates that about 50,000 new workers will enter the plants in the next four years, while the industry is preparing to cut dust levels.

Robert Vare

Mr. Vare *is a reporter for the New York* Post.

Who Will Run With McGovern?

Balancing the Ticket

by Paul R. Wieck

Unlike frontrunners of previous years, Sen. McGovern isn't beset by an army of senators, governors and mayors, seeking the nod as his running mate. The reason is simple enough. Unlike other frontrunners, McGovern hasn't had any help during his long, arduous campaign from dozens of potential running mates; on the contrary, many of them are among the handwringers predicting a gloomy future for the party if McGovern is nominated. McGovern can look about without seeing anyone with a claim for special attention from him.

It's a relief in the sense that it spares everyone the quadrennial charade of the leading candidate dropping hints, state-by-state, that the local favorite is being seriously considered for the ticket. Imagine what would be happening today if Muskie had over 1400 first-ballot votes going into the convention? In Illinois, he'd put his arm around Stevenson; in California, it would be Tunney; down South, he'd wink at a different governor in every state; in Iowa, a Muskie-Hughes ticket would suddenly look very good. It's the sort of thing that causes the public to grow skeptical of everything politicians do.

McGovern won't have that problem, but in the end it won't make much difference because, being a conventional politician at heart, he is using the same method of picking the strongest possible running mate others have: he's having polls taken.

His pollster, Pat Caddell, is in the process of checking out about a dozen running mates as this is written, ranging from competitors like Muskie, Humphrey and Kennedy, to midwestern Catholics like Gilligan of Ohio and Eagleton of Missouri to southern governors like Askew, and even Walter Mondale, who fits no category but happens to be one of the most promising personalities on the political horizon in the '70s. The complete results of Caddell's polling probably won't be released. Nor is Caddell polling everywhere in the same way. For instance, Eagleton and Askew are being polled regionally while Muskie, Humphrey and Kennedy are getting the full, national treatment.

Each presidential candidate has special needs in the way of a running mate. Muskie would probably need a midwestern or southern candidate and a Protestant; Humphrey, in 1968, went East and found a Catholic. Both were conventional choices. McGovern, in contrast, may have special needs. First, a candidate and his aides must assess where they can win the election. For any Democrat in 1972, the answer seems obvious: the Northeast and the Midwest. Plus Texas or California. The South and the smaller Rocky Mountain States may not be worth the effort this year, although it's always dangerous to give any hint of not running in all 50 states. (Few have forgotten Nixon's long flight to Alaska in the closing days of the 1968 campaign to carry out a pledge to campaign in all 50 states when he could have made better use of the time, say in Illinois.)

Assuming the McGovern strategy is aimed at putting together a winning combination of states in the Northeast and Midwest and then adding California or

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Texas to put him over the top, what sort of running mate will he need to strengthen the ticket?

McGovern's major problem going into the convention is the "radical" image painted of him, particularly by Humphrey in the last few primaries. His stands on issues like tax reform, welfare reform and cuts in military spending are cited as proof that he would be unacceptable to the vast majority of voters; indeed, that he'd be the Goldwater of 1972. Paralleling this is a lot of talk about "McGovern crazies" who will show up at Miami Beach as delegates. California, where the McGovern slate was picked from the "left wing" of the California Democratic Council (CDC), is cited. Also Ohio, where the McGovern slate had to be picked long before anyone thought he had a chance of being nominated. McGovern's critics predict the "crazies" will riot, pass joints, etc., right on the convention floor and try to push through planks calling for unconditional amnesty, legalization of marijuana, abortion on demand, legalization of homosexual marriages, etc. In short, his candidacy will be destroyed right on prime time before the eyes of millions of horrified TV viewers. Needless to say, the McGovern camp is determined it won't happen.

First of all, the goal of McGovern's managers is to help write a platform in Miami Beach that spells out tough reform planks, perhaps deals with welfare reform, goes into the question of military expenditures and leaves the new social issues (marijuana, abortion, homosexuality) to the states. Amnesty, on the other hand, *is* a national issue and can't be sidestepped without upsetting his army of youthful followers. They hope the convention will adopt a tough, specific and appealing platform McGovern can not only embrace but run on successfully while putting to rest the confusion that has arisen from some of his proposals during the primaries. To keep their troops in line, a corps of 200 floor managers is being trained—not to direct or threaten but to be there to try to keep the emotional pitch low, to prove the critics are wrong about the "McGovern crazies."

Judging from the various state conventions, they may be successful. At Roanoke, there was a lot of talk about the "crazies" from northern Virginia; however, at the end of the convention, Speaker John Warren Cooke of the House of Delegates (he was the presiding officer at the convention) went out of his way to compliment the delegates on their decorum during the long, tedious hours of the two-day convention. In Kansas, the carefully disciplined McGovern backers were taunted by party leaders but refused to respond, leading the press to conclude that a "party rift" had been healed at the convention.

If all goes well in Miami Beach, the "radical" image may be shed on national TV, freeing McGovern to take other factors into consideration in picking a running mate. If there's still a problem, the best solution may be to look to the South for a young, moderate governor—an Askew, Bumpers or Carter. If he needs help on tax reform, Mills would be good. Meanwhile, his polls will give him a clue as to how effective this would be.

If one accepts the thesis that the race will have to be won in the Northeast and the Midwest plus Texas or California, what is the swing vote in these regions? The family farmers? The failure of Humphrey to score heavily in rural and small-town areas in 1968 probably cost him Wisconsin, Illinois and Missouri. They have to be considered again in 1972. But who is a better spokesman for the family farmer than the candidate himself? McGovern built his political base in South Dakota as a champion of the small farmer and the leaders of such liberal farm organizations as the National Farmers Union and the National Farmers Organization not only know it but helped him to victory in the Wisconsin and Nebraska primaries.

The other major swing vote is to be found in the Catholic ethnic enclaves concentrated in the industrial areas all across the Northeast and Midwest plus the Mexican-American vote in the Southwest (Texas and California). It's usually described as conservative on the new social issues, increasingly alienated and not nearly as loyal to the Democratic Party as it once was. Nixon is already playing for this vote (witness his letter to Cardinal Cooke on abortion) and will doubtless give it a lot of attention in the fall. If that's the swing vote considered crucial, Ted Kennedy would be ideal. The Kennedy family name still has a lot of magic and his liabilities wouldn't be such important considerations if he were the vice presidential candidate. But he says he won't run.

Under the circumstances, it isn't surprising that pollster Caddell's list contains the names of several other candidates who fit the criteria—Eagleton of Missouri, Gilligan of Ohio and Muskie. All Catholic, all from the two areas of prime importance. In each case, they'd serve another purpose. There's a growing feeling among McGovern's youthful managers that his success in the primaries has a distinct ideological underpinning that should not be compromised in choosing his running mate. Thus, they favor an "ideological" ticket made up of two relatively young men committed to change.

Such a ticket could do one more thing. It could soothe some of the hurt feelings among senators and governors. It has been a bad season for both groups. McGovern's colleagues in the Senate fell over each other to jump on the Muskie bandwagon early and then, to their surprise, found themselves out of luck along with the candidate himself. It's the kind of ego-shattering experience which has led some to indulge in predictions of disaster because their leadership was flouted by the voters. A good many had bets on Muskie and failed to cope with the young people, blacks and women who flooded the precinct caucuses and voting booths to pick their own delegates.

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To soothe bruised egoes, it might help if McGovern picked a senator or governor who backed Muskie as his running mate. McGovern's managers have gone out of their way to be conciliatory and to win over Democrats who weren't always in his corner:

► In California, two key McGovern managers (Rick Stearns and Eli Segal) stayed over for a week after the primary to make certain Sen. John Tunney and Assemblyman Robert Moretti were placed on the delegation.

► In Idaho, the McGovern camp made a place in the Idaho delegation for Sen. Frank Church, who dropped his commitment to Muskie to campaign in California for McGovern.

► In Utah, the McGovern managers insisted Sen. Frank Moss and Gov. Calvin Rampton, both avowed Muskie supporters, be included on the delegation.

► In New Mexico, the McGovern people insisted a role be found for Sen. Joseph M. Montoya after he came to them privately and asked to be included. They even allowed him to issue a press release saying it was McGovern's idea.

► In Kansas, care was taken not to collide with Gov. Robert Docking or his party officers, a move which has resulted in good relations.

► In Montana, the McGovern strategists insisted their camp not run a candidate for at-large delegate against Sen. Lee Metcalf despite his steadfast refusal to drop his Muskie commitment. Unfortunately, Metcalf was still beaten but by an Indian woman running "uncommitted."

Right now, it's in vogue for potential vice presidential candidates to insist they won't run with McGovern. Mills set the stage with an incredible TV appearance in which he dismissed McGovern but said he might be willing to run with Kennedy. Other southerners are said to be following his lead. Since everyone who's not for McGovern is somehow involved in a "stop McGovern" strategy, no one is willing to admit to a willingness to join the ticket. Besides, McGovern doesn't owe any of them anything so it might seem presumptuous for them to make themselves available now. Also some of them are still running for President and are not about to announce their availability for a lesser office, yet.

Once McGovern is nominated, a lot of changes in attitude can be expected, particularly if McGovern's workers are successful in keeping their delegates in hand. The second spot will look a whole lot better. Remember LBJ in Los Angeles in 1960? Who would have believed he'd give up a position of real power to join a Kennedy-Johnson ticket after the nasty exchanges that took place at the convention?

If nothing else works, McGovern can always throw it to an open convention as Stevenson did in 1956. That would add some interest. Candidates would come out of the woodwork, as they did in 1956, when Stevenson's chances of upending Eisenhower weren't rated good.

McGovern's Tough, Lean Defense

Is Sufficient Enough?

by Robert S. Benson

In the California primary campaign Hubert Humphrey called George McGovern's proposed $54.8 billion military budget for 1975 "preposterous" and said the reductions called for "would make America into a second-class power." The previous day Secretary of Defense Laird testified before a Senate Appropriations subcommittee that if McGovern's plan were implemented "Congress would have to direct that the Defense Department spend $1 billion on white flags so we could run them up all over the world, because the result would be surrender." The syndicated columnist Joseph Kraft chimed in a week later that McGovern's defense budget struck him as "positively dangerous."

Three things are striking about the criticism. It has been focused almost entirely on McGovern's $54.8 billion figure, rather than on the specifics of his plan. It has been highly emotional, rather than rigorously analytical. And finally, it has offered nothing as an alternative. (Secretary Laird, as spokesman for the administration's proposed 1973 military budget is an

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ROBERT S. BENSON *edited the National Urban Coalition* Counterbudget 1971-76: A Blueprint for Changing National Priorities.

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exception to that latter generalization. His alternative proposal *is* different from McGovern's. The budget authorization originally requested for the Defense Department in 1973 was $83.4 billion, but the Pentagon's comptroller recently informed the Congress that current efforts to wind down the war may add as much as $5 billion to the total. The SALT agreements won't cost us too much extra right away because the Pentagon had already included funds in its budget request for virtually every currently developable strategic weapons system.)

McGovern has produced in detail his views on United States defense requirements in the 1970s, the capabilities and limitations of military power in advancing US interests abroad, and the specific numbers of men and items of weaponry he feels would be needed to carry out these policies. It's a serious statement, unprecedented in detail for a political position paper.

The McGovern defense budget is in the form of a terse, readable 56-page report entitled "Toward a More Secure America: An Alternative National Defense Posture." It closely parallels the posture statement issued annually by the secretary of Defense in that it contains an assessment of current and potential threats to US security, analyzes alternative responses to those threats, delineates his view of US international interests and of what use military forces can be in advancing those interests, and concludes with what kinds and numbers of men and weapons are needed to carry out those policies. The 1975 military budget proposals which follow in the McGovern report are arrived at through straightforward calculations once those earlier questions are answered.

Five central themes run through the analysis:

► Sufficiency ought to be the criterion in determining the size and configuration of the strategic deterrent force.

► The US should maintain only those forces which realistically can contribute to desirable and achievable US international objectives.

► We should buy only what weapons and other hardware we demonstrably need, not whatever we have the technological capacity to produce.

► New procurement should be oriented toward simple, reliable weapons—reversing recent trends toward increasing amounts of complex gadgetry.

► Our entire force structure must be made leaner and tougher. McGovern maintains that strict adherence to these guidelines would substantially reduce the size of the US military establishment, sharply lessen the prospect of our entanglement in "future Vietnams," and generally increase world security.

Strategic Sufficiency. McGovern all along has subscribed to the basic principles underlying the SALT agreements: that both the US and USSR have the ability to destroy each other's civilization with offensive nuclear weapons even after absorbing a first strike from the other side; that mutual recognition of these capabilities serves as a deterrent against either side's initiating a first strike; that offensive strategic weapons enjoy a significant cost and effectiveness edge over defensive countermeasures; that the development of any new defensive devices or other weapons which would threaten to erode the effectiveness of either country's deterrent would have a destabilizing effect on world relations; and finally that both countries will profit from mutual agreements to place restrictions on both the size and qualitative capabilities of their nuclear forces.

One assumes he agrees with President Nixon that these initial agreements represent only a useful first step in negotiations. He sharply disagrees with the President on what represents wise US policy on modernization and force levels in our strategic arsenal as negotiations proceed. The President is convinced that you get ahead in international relations by carrying an ever larger stick. The term Nixon uses, as when he attempted to justify the Safeguard system to Congress, is "bargaining chips." The rationale is being trotted out again to win support for the B-1 bomber and the Trident submarine.

McGovern emphasizes the importance of maintaining a credible deterrent, but sees no gain from modernizing or expanding our force so long as the deterrent appears unthreatened. As for the bargaining chip argument, McGovern's paper concludes that, "both the American taxpayer and the prospects for arms limitations suffer, as both are suffering now, when negotiations become an excuse for buying more than we need. A desire to negotiate from strength should not compel arms outlays that will be inappropriate even if negotiations fail."

He would continue to conduct research into new technologies, but not procure advanced systems so long as our forces are sufficient to deter the USSR. He sees potential danger in proposals such as the B-1 and our continuing program to MIRV Minuteman missiles, because of the potential destabilizing effects of those actions.

McGovern makes a strong case that the US can maintain a credible deterrent in the near future without any further procurement modernization beyond that already authorized, and with even smaller numbers of weapons than now exist. He acknowledges a marginal case for maintaining the strategic offensive "triad" (bombers, submarine-based missiles, and land-based missiles), but would scrap two-thirds of the bomber fleet and the 54 most ancient of our 1054 land-based missiles. He would halt MIRVing of Minuteman on the grounds that further capabilities are currently superfluous. Instead of procuring the B-1, he would support further improvements of our existing bombers. He supports a high-priority research effort on Trident and alternative submarine-based systems, but advo-

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cates holding off procurement. Even before SALT, he counseled scrapping Safeguard and curbing air defense programs marshaled against the aging Soviet bomber fleet—both of which he perceived as ineffective gestures.

Richard Nixon coined the phrase "nuclear sufficiency"; George McGovern wants to put it into practice.

Limited Interests, Ineffective Forces. McGovern wants the US to maintain only those forces which realistically can contribute to desirable, achievable US international objectives. The Vietnam tragedy is on his mind when he says: "This alternative budget rejects the notion that military might is the only method by which the United States can fulfill international responsibilities and serve the cause of freedom. And it incorporates some of the painful lessons of recent years, about the military damage done to helpless people in freedom's name." He does not discuss what other methods he would emphasize in international affairs, but does suggest a number of adjustments he would make in US military forces, for example in Asia: "Regardless of how the United States sees its own interest . . . the military balance is such that the maintenance of substantial conventional forces for an Asian contingency is not a current necessity." Accordingly, he recommends substantial reductions in the ground forces and surface navy ships now assigned there (as well as similar reductions in our already modest forces assigned to Latin America). His reasons are pragmatic. Where he sees vital American interests—Japan, Taiwan, Australia and possibly South Korea—he also sees a strong existing capability for self-defense. In other nations like Thailand and Cambodia where future civil conflicts might erupt, McGovern feels that, aside from the legal and moral aspects of whether the US has a right to intervene, the practical fact that we would not be capable of decisively influencing the outcome dictates that we stay out. And, if we are going to stay out, we don't need to maintain army and marine divisions, or to operate nearly so many aircraft carriers, which also would be fatally vulnerable to missile attack in an extended conventional war with a major power.

That last point begins to illuminate some of the larger aspects of the principle McGovern is advancing. It isn't *just* that he wants to limit sharply the number and kinds of military conflicts the US would see as in its interest to become involved in; he also wants to pare forces which are not useful in foreseeable military situations. This is a theme which McGovern sees as having broad ramifications throughout the military budget—from the bomber defense network on the strategic side to amphibious capabilities in Asia. McGovern speaks critically of a policy of retaining "weapons systems which are based on obsolete strategies" and stacking new systems on top of old. "The combined result," he says, "is a much bigger and physically impressive defense establishment, but with much of it making little or no real contribution to the nation's security." Many defense observers, including a number within the Pentagon, share this feeling that the military has served its own welfare poorly by persistently clinging to outmoded systems and technologies.

Resisting Technological Temptation. The military variation of the technological imperative—if you know how to build it, buy it—is the grease that lubricates the arms race. Because cost receives scant consideration, new procurement accounts for a major portion of the military drain on the treasury. McGovern's position is not anti-technology. His 1975 budget would include $5.5 billion spending in the defense research program (compared to $6.2 billion spent in that program during the fiscal year just completed). He simply does not want to move ahead into procurement unless a demonstrable need exists for the new weapon. Melvin Laird would never admit to any other policy. But McGovern has a very different view from Laird's about what kinds of new weapons systems are currently needed.

Making Sure It Works. Closely related to making sure you need it is making sure that a new weapon will work consistently and correctly once it is put into use. The armed services load up new systems with every conceivable bit of complex electronic gadgetry, and that creates major reliability problems. The problem is not confined just to publicized systems failures like the C-5A, which embarrassingly lost a wheel on its maiden flight and has suffered since from cracked wings, or the F-111B, which became so loaded down with electronic gadgetry that its proponents decided it would be lucky to get off the flight deck. McGovern also cites the Main Battle Tank, the Phoenix missile, the M-16, and overly sophisticated combat aircraft employed in Vietnam. Perhaps the sharpest battle lines now being drawn on this issue focus on the two expensive, highly sophisticated new fighter aircraft, the F-14 and F-15, being developed respectively by the navy and the air force. McGovern recommends that both programs be terminated and less complex new models be developed and procured in their stead.

Leaner, Tougher Forces. What McGovern has in mind when he speaks of leaner, tougher forces are reductions in the growing ratios of support to combat troops, officers to enlisted men, and headquarters managers to men assigned to active divisions. Even making allowance for the fact that adoption of complex weaponry has forced an increase in support personnel for added maintenance, considerable fat does exist. It is even arguable that the net effect of new technology should have been to *reduce* support personnel, considering the army of clerks that computers are supposed to

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replace. The most comprehensive and compelling recent list of desirable efficiency improvements was compiled in 1970 by President Nixon's own blue-ribbon defense panel. Their recommendations include a couple of dozen major suggestions for streamlining—ranging from reduced manpower rotation and headquarters staff sizes to increased consolidation of numerous support services. It is difficult to pin a figure on the savings potential of each suggestion. McGovern suggests a possible $1 billion total savings.

So much for McGovern's central premises. But what about his specific military force recommendations? Does his recommended paring of forces reflect intelligent selection or would he cut too deep? Would the United States really be secure with a McGovern defense force? And would his force really cost the $54.8 billion he says it would? I think his program holds up well on all these counts. He deserves high marks for his choice of weapons systems and manpower levels to implement his basic policies. On the strategic side, he emphasizes submarine-based forces, both in terms of current deployments and research, but retains a slimmed down triple-deterrent force. This provides a credible deterrent, at a prudent cost level because new procurement is minimized.

As for general purpose forces, he finds only in Europe a significant conjunction of US interests and an opportunity for our military forces to affect the peacetime strategic balance. Accordingly, he recommends only modest reduction of Europe-oriented forces (though he would rebase 2⅓ army divisions from Europe to the US) while completely eliminating US ground forces based in or specifically oriented toward Asia. Seven land-based air wings but only one on-station aircraft carrier would remain in Asia. In general, his naval force emphasis is underwater; the McGovern budget is generous toward attack submarines and anti-submarine-warfare technology but stingy on the future of large surface ships. With regard to tactical aircraft, he favors simplicity in design and maximization of dogfighting and air-to-ground capabilities rather than multi-mission combinations. He is silent on army procurement needs other than favoring scrapping the Cheyenne helicopter. Presumably an army reduced in size from 1,500,000 to 648,000 men would have enough new equipment left over from Vietnam modernization.

There is basis for quarreling with some of these specifics. Rebasing troops from Europe to the US doesn't save any money and may indeed cost something in useful political negotiating leverage (in contrast with the use of Trident and the B-1 as strategic "bargaining chips," which doesn't help negotiations because we already have a credible deterrent). The Asian force recommendations would cause shock among our SEATO allies, perhaps requiring a formal recasting of that alliance. McGovern might give more positive consideration to the idea of reconstituting a portion of the surface navy into small, fast-moving, heavily gunned surface ships. He gives only passing attention to the ticklish problems of tactical nuclear weapons and of potential military assistance to Israel. But overall, he seems to have selected his priorities well. Favoring Europe and simpler weapons systems are sound directions for US general purpose forces policy.

And what about costs? It is to McGovern's credit that he has drawn up a program for 1975, realistically allowing three years for a transition from current force levels to his program. That allowance acknowledges the long lead-times on military procurement decisions and the time it takes for orderly phase-down and realignments of forces.

The Department of Defense recently charged that while McGovern's dollar estimates were "reasonably professional," he had underestimated operating costs by $10.1 billion and his total program costs therefore would be closer to $65 billion than the $54.8 billion he claims. My own calculations suggest that the Defense Department is partially correct; McGovern's operating cost estimates are low, but by about $6.5 billion rather than $10.1 billion.

On the other hand, McGovern's procurement allocations are too high. The Defense Department probably knew this too, because in their critique submitted to Joint Economic Committee they attacked every figure except the one for procurement. The list of major new systems McGovern would forego procuring (Trident, Minuteman III, B-1, AWACS, Safeguard, F-14, F-15, new aircraft carriers and escort ships, S-3A, new tank designs, Cheyenne) is longer than those he would buy (SRAM and SCAD, AX, and more nuclear attack submarines). New navy and air force fighters would be under development, but probably would not be procured until after 1975. I figure that a 1975 procurement budget of $6-7 billion would buy what McGovern recommends and allows for regular replacement needs. McGovern makes an interesting basic point in this regard: "If the Defense Department spends $15 billion on new weapons in one year and $5 billion in the next, anyone should be able to see that it has not reduced defense outlays in the second year; it has added to them. Prior investments must be seen as a base upon which to build, not as a target to be matched or surpassed. The same process exposes the nonsense in hysterical references to 'unilateral disarmament' in connection with military budget reductions." He isn't strictly accurate—some items do wear out each year and must be replaced, requiring procurement spending without adding to forces—but on the whole his argument is valid.

Altogether, I calculate that McGovern's price tag of $54.8 billion on his program is within one billion dollars of being accurate. McGovern's proposals could be implemented with a 1975 outlay of around $55 billion. And it would still be an imposing military force.

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JULES FEIFFER

I ASK MY MOTHER WHY I CAN'T GO OUT AND PLAY.

SHE SAYS "BECAUSE."

I ASK MY TEACHER WHY I HAVE TO MEMORIZE ALL THOSE DATES.

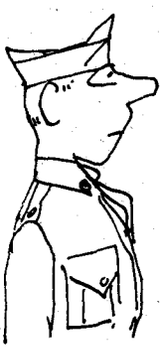
SHE SAYS "BECAUSE."

I ASK MY FATHER WHY HE'S NOT LIVING WITH US ANYMORE.

HE SAYS "BECAUSE."

I ASK THE ARMY WHY THEY'RE DRAFTING ME.

THEY SAY "BECAUSE."



I ASK MY SERGEANT WHY THEY'RE SHOOTING AT ME.

HE SAYS "BECAUSE."

I ASK THE DOCTOR WHY I'M DYING.

HE SAYS "BECAUSE."

I ASK THE PRESIDENT WHAT'S THE MEANING OF LIFE.

HE SAYS "1972."

I PREFER "BECAUSE."

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Stanley Kauffmann on films

Hitchcock's Frenzy

"The old boy has come back." The word is already being buzzed about the new Hitchcock film, *Frenzy*, and it certainly is his best in a long time—since *North by Northwest* (1963). But the fact of the matter is that it's Anthony Shaffer who has made the come-back for him. Hitchcock hadn't much deteriorated as director in his recent films; he merely had poor scripts. Now he has a fairly good one, adapted by Shaffer (who wrote *Sleuth)* from a novel by Arthur La Bern, and lo, it's the director who has come back.

Some critics and Hitchcock himself keep telling us that content doesn't matter, style is all. In plotty suspense pictures! Hitchcock said recently, "Too many films are looked at for their content. What's more important is their treatment." Robin Wood begins his (gaseous) book on Hitchcock with the antique plaint that people are unable to *see* films, that they reduce them to literature instead of concentrating on the images. But then—to reply with another antique plaint—why aren't all films by a good image-maker equally good? Or relatively so?

Arguably there are some directors who have made good films with mediocre material, but Hitchcock is surely not one of them. Look at *Marnie* and *Topaz* again, if you can, and see how sterile all the Hitchcockery is when it is used on stupid material. On the other hand, look again at *The Thirty-nine Steps* and see how the film lives, not because of the (very good) direction but basically because of the script by Alma Reville and Charles Bennett from John Buchan's novel. All of Hitchcock's successes are primarily writers' films—expertly directed, but overwhelmingly dependent on their scripts. How could it possibly be otherwise in the Hitchcock field?

Shaffer's script is not in the Reville-Bennett class, but it has some good forward motion, some thrills, and some good reworking of familiar facile Hitchcock ironies. Again there is a protagonist who, we soon learn, is innocent, although we see him being wrapped tighter and tighter in circumstantial evidence. (François Truffaut said to Hitchcock, "While your hero is generally innocent of the crime for which he's under suspicion, he is generally guilty of intentions before the fact," with which Hitchcock agreed.) Again there are sardonic juxtapositions: a (presumably) guilty man sits, background, in a pub while two men in the foreground discuss the murder. Again there are the false clues: a cut from a necktie around the neck of a strangled woman to a man putting on a similar necktie, but he is not the guilty man. (I spill few beans. We learn of his innocence early. The story is built on counterpoint between the seemingly guilty man and a seemingly innocent one.) Again the highly realistic texture is fractured by arrant movie mechanics: the hero's friend just happens to spot him in a park at a crucial moment and gives him shelter. Again there is a running gag: instead of the cricket enthusiasts of *The Lady Vanishes*, we get some skits on gourmet cooking. The police inspector's wife has culinary ambitions and, instead of feeding him the steak and veg for which he longs, inflicts fancy inedibles on him, as in recent Alka-Seltzer commercials. (The subtlest satire in the book is the inspector's "secret" meal in the office. His sausages and egg, which he relishes, look just as inedible as his wife's specialties.)

After a somewhat slow start, the story gets going, and makes us itch with the right frustration as we see the wrong man being cornered. Then just as he is tried and found guilty, as we might be willing to think that we are getting a full view of the dark side of the mirror, Hitchcock does a typical copout. The inspector who caught the hero remains transfixed by the latter's protestation as he is led from the dock, the cry that he will some day get the really guilty man. Then the inspector sets out to prove the innocence of the very man he has brought to book. *Why* the inspector should have been so readily changed is not really a matter of psychology but of box-office.

But the familiar Hitchcock battery of cinematic devices has a generally good ground for operation in *Frenzy*. There is the razzle-dazzle murder editing, as in the *Psycho* shower, this time dealing with a rape and strangling—a sequence that will doubtless become a "classic" in editing classes for the easily impressed. There is the familiar quiet moment of murder-discovery, during which the camera waits outside while someone goes in and discovers the body we know is there. There is the weaving of locale into the fabric of the story—in this case, the Covent Garden market and what look like the actual premises of the Duckworth publishing company in that district.

This, in fact, is the first picture Hitchcock has made in London since the (abominable) *Stage Fright*, over 20 years ago, and we can be sure that Hitchcockians will sing about the opening helicopter shots—a long slow ride over the Thames and under Tower Bridge while we see the credits. A Return to Nativity, and so on. To me, it was just a distended travelogue shot, out of key with the film, upholstered with pompous music, not even a good contrast—as presumably intended—to the shock that soon

(continued on page 34)

Films Worth Seeing

Cabaret. Sex and politics and sexual politics in Isherwood's Berlin. Smart Broadway show biz on screen.

A Day in the Death of Joe Egg. An English couple with a spastic child in a picture of wit, sex, and anger, that gets its pathos without bathos.

The Hospital. George C. Scott blasting through Paddy Chayefsky's script about a doctor caught between menopause and medical muddle. Good bitter fun before it collapses.

Tokyo Story. Quite simply, one of the filmgoing opportunities of your lifetime. Yasujiro Ozu's gentle masterpiece, about parents, children, and time.

La Salamandre. Two young writers and a girl about whom they try to write a TV documentary. Intelligent, deft, disturbing—by Alain Tanner, a gifted Swiss newcomer.

The Sorrow and the Pity. Four and a half fascinating hours. Marcel Ophuls' masterly documentary of occupied France and some survivors.

Malcolm X. The power of Malcolm himself is the power of the straightforward documentary derived from his autobiography.

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History as Royal Orgy

Passions and Politics: A Biography of Versailles

by Joseph Barry

(Doubleday; $12.95)

Maybe it is true that each age has to write human history all over again to suit its own distinctive purposes—but what, if this be so, are "our" purposes? And who is he who is qualified to specify? Anyone can voice an opinion, express a preference—for economic history or great-man history or ideological history or fat-man thin-man history—but to assess the age's central concerns wisely and judiciously may only be possible for someone who comes after the age. My own unprofessional, in-age impression is up for inspection nonetheless, and it is that history, like poetry and fiction, is at the moment a collective mishmash, both as an academic discipline and as a pile of books. This is to say that while historians may still individually be full of orderly designs upon the past they are as a group riding off in all directions at once. Perhaps someone who has been to a recent meeting of the American Historical Association will berate me for error here, but I will be surprised if they do.

Joseph Barry is not even a professional historian, so the direction that history takes in his massively detailed new volume should not in isolation be regarded as serious evidence of any sort of professional trend. One gets the impression from the jacket blurb that the subject Versailles began a sort of avocation for him—he was a busy journalist and columnist for the *Times*, *Newsweek*, the *New York Post* and the *Village Voice*—and then the subject slowly, because the source material was so extensive, took over his life for five years. Now that is of course not an orderly, rational way to arrive at a philosophy of history, and we should not forgive him simply because it may be the only way; but *Passions and Politics* is not, despite this background, a lonely historical phenomenon. Close-focus histories of particular lives, battles, places and social movements have been pouring out of the hopper at a great rate lately, and Barry's volume is if anything more concerned with the Big Picture than most of those that pass through my office as review copies, such as scholarly books about particular military campaigns, or monographs of particular historical places and moments—one characteristic recent instance being *That Greece Might Still Be Free*, by William St. Clair (Oxford, $14.95), a study of the Greek fight for independence in the 1820s; another, *The Dawn's Early Light* by Walter Lord (Norton, $8.50), a reexamination of five days in the War of 1812; and a third, an academic monograph typical of what the beavers in my days in beavership always seemed to be doing, *England, France and Christendom, 1377-99*, by J. J. N. Palmer (University of North Carolina Press, $9.50), in which the never-ending Hundred Years' War has its embers stirred again. Versailles is less limited as a subject than these; it is so central to the whole of pre-revolutionary France that a "biography" of it is bound to be, in part at least, a history of a country and era, perhaps even a microcosmic history of royalty as a whole. Barry's handling of the subject, however, is passionately anecdotal, and he seems rather backward in his handling of one of the chief forces in the life of the aristocracy, namely manners, with the result that each king is dealt with, in the good American way, as a sort of individual entrepreneur (and lover) rather than as a manifestation of a complex of custom and convention.

Barry's playing down of manners may be American-modern, but his insistence on piling up data seems oddly old-fashioned. To much of his detail one would suppose that youth might object, asking if history began in 1945 why should we now concern ourselves with how the Comte de Lauzun hid himself under Louis XIV's bed one night? And not only is the relevance of the past now in question; in our new world there has also been a decline in respect for everyday minutiae of all kinds, historical or contemporary. A college student today, for example, can only with great difficulty be persuaded to sit himself down and describe a scene, a character, a conversation with reportorial specificity. By the same token, what that student may be readily persuaded to read is almost sure to be dreamy and nonnaturalistic. Yet opposed to the inner-life trend in our culture we do, though perhaps less commonly, still find the other impulse, which is to put absolutely everything that objectively happened down, especially everything private and physical. This is Barry's impulse, and he indulges it most effectively and strenuously in connection with sex and medicine. In *Passions and Politics*, he has put together everything he could find about the daily lives, with

Pledge of Allegiance

In a roomful of books
there is nothing I want
to read.
I'm a true American: glut
makes me hungry. I feed
the fire another log.
Lightning on its one leg
thumps across the fields.
I should never have given myself
this power.

Also I'm tired
of accusing myself, tired
of flaring through doorways
like an exploding dog.
When light is on the water
I bite water.
I want to lick anything cold,
to rest my nose on a stone.

So I walk into this war
every morning
as a man enters an elevator.
I rise like the red spine
of a thermometer.

We bomb them again and again
I wake from a long sleep
going the long way home
around a nightmare.
I wake up waiting
for dusk. I want to watch
the Holsteins coming in,
and the Amish couples.
This is my country.
Please don't ask me
to kill you for it.

William Matthews

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women, of Louis XIII, Louis XIV, Louis XV and Louis XVI, as well as everything known about their ailments, and how treated. Relevant history?—one could muster a stadium-full of respectable aging historians as well as historyless youth who would say no, such stuff is peripheral, it is gossip for antiquarians, yet despite them the Barry book would remain, I think, clearly a significant manifestation of at least one popular current cultural vision of what history is.

Merely to contemplate abstractly the enormity of the split between the historians who would tell sexy stories and those who would pry into the underpinnings of custom is to be threatened with hives—and actually to sit around and read extensively and professionally (as some historians must be doing?) on both sides of the split must be enough to drive good scholars into full-time farming. Just to sit and read Barry, however, isn't so bad. He has a fast flat style full of irony and innuendo, and he plays his editorial cards without fuss. Furthermore the materials are tried and true; and though I would guess that he has added not a jot to the known facts about Versailles, or any of its occupants, or the *ancien regime* as a social and political entity, he has not so far as I can see done the time any damage, and on the positive side he has compressed much lively matter into a fairly small space.

And how did Versailles get to be that enormity before which American tourists must stand before they die and hear the guide tell them it was built at a cost of such and such—and "dees vay pleess"? Well, Louis XIII did the preliminary spadework, planning "a small chateau, no larger than a hunting lodge"; but it was the Sun King, Louis XIV, who took the big plunge. His model for the big final Versailles was the estate of his superintendent of finances, who was robbing France blind for his own ends and had, with the help of 18,000 workers, built himself a dandy little place that Louis XIV visited one night and admired. Three weeks later the king arrested this man and imprisoned him far far away, thereby asserting himself as the true master of France's exchequer and making Versailles economically possible. Joseph Barry does not devote much time to France's tax morass at the time, but he provides enough information—indeed there is *no* subject faintly connected with Versailles that he doesn't touch on somehow—to give the reader the necessary sense that the French power to tax was both the source of France's prerevolutionary leadership in Europe and the prime source of its immense administrative confusion, overlapping and corruption. The Sun King was the one who managed to get the money really running his way, with war and Versailles as the chief beneficiaries. Versailles, it is true, ran a poor second to war; Versailles "averaged about 5 percent of the royal budget" for about 50 years, which doesn't seem like much until one understands that even in the late 17th century the French budget was big, and that in the high-expenditure years of Versailles it was one of history's great work-projects (with, in the peak year, 36,000 men and 6000 horses in harness there). Louis XIV found the money; he also put in time. He began with the grounds, and for many years oversaw and meticulously directed the enormous labors of his gardener-landscapist, Le Notre, so that "from horizon to horizon Le Notre [could] tame and humanize the landscape, convert it into a French garden 'readable' at a glance." Le Notre did so—he "ordered every foot of a three mile vista," planted tens of thousands of trees and shrubs and put in place 1400 fountains—do I sound like a guidebook talking?—so that one million gallons of water could be "flung skyward every hour" and France be confronted with one of the first really big-scale water problems (for which Louis' attempted solution was to divert the river Eure, 50 miles away, a project never finished). Then came the buildings, and for these Louis depended chiefly upon two architects and builders, first Louis Le Vau who was responsible for construction during the Sun King's earlier days, and who put an "envelope" around Louis XIII's original "hunting lodge"; and second, Jules Hardouin-Mansart who carried the project through the Madame-de-Maintenon phase (phases were known by their mistresses), bringing it to its final immensity. Through all this Louis did of course depend upon his mistresses more than his architects and landscapists for inspiration; for Versailles, if one reads Barry the way I read Barry, should end in the mind as a sort of monument put up tree by rock as homage not to gardening and building, but to big parties and big sex, beginning with the fountains and Molière, and ending in bed in remarkably unprivate joy. Barry makes it appear something of a miracle that France survived Versailles' orgies—for after Louis XIV came Louis XV with his Deer Park (some 1800 women are estimated to have passed through this brothel dedicated to satisfying "the ennui of a jaded prince . . . with the very young and preferably the virginal") and then Louis XVI with his Marie Antoinette and her gambling and her 2842 carat necklace—yet of course in a sense France did *not* survive Versailles; Versailles was the France destroyed by the Revolution. Alive or not, the building itself and its gardens still sit there for the delight of tourists and of historians of a certain kind; and I suppose that if one gets in the spirit of that delight one can understand Barry's effort, its up-to-dateness, its contemporary appeal.

A lot of the delight is in the simply nasty and brutal. Despite all our pious campaigns against violence we love it; some of our pleasantest cultural evenings are spent dwelling on the inhumanity of man to man. Versailles is a bottomless well of gore that Barry can capitalize on, from the doctors' quackery to the executions (a lusciously messy episode, for example, was the quartering of a man who had knifed Louis XV; Barry devotes 20 pages to it).

Versailles is also, as Barry handles it, a happy focal point for studying powers nobody has and everyone dreams of, powers rendered the more happy—in the perverse way that happiness enters our steamy souls—because the powers of the Versailles kings were almost never exercised either intelligently or for the common good. Reading about corruption in town hall is a bore compared with spending an evening with Louis XVI as he bleeds France.

In fact the theme in the Barry book that probably makes it a characteristic and contemporary work despite its invincible antiquarianism is that People Are No Damned Good, especially the high and mighty. To play this theme as hard as Barry does may be misleading; a good case could be made that the Versailles kings and nobles, like modern bad children we refuse to call bad, were thoroughly trapped in the system of which they were the leaders and should therefore not be studied merely as individual spots of human corruption. But a society that makes as much of corrupt officialdom as ours continues to like to imagine in its dream hours that the system is better than the men and that therefore things will all work out for the best no matter how badly the leaders conduct themselves. Barry makes good reading in an election year.

Reed Whittemore

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A Pleasant Dream

One American Town

by Donald S. Connery

(Simon and Schuster; $6.95)

People are always writing love letters to small towns, usually sophisticated people who have spent some time in big cities. Last summer an English-born journalist, Anthony Bailey, published *In the Village*, an account of his life in Stonington, Connecticut. Now we have *One American Town*, by Donald Connery, who moved to Kent, Connecticut, with his wife and children, a few years ago, after having served as correspondent for *Life* and *Time* in London, Moscow, New Delhi, Tokyo and other metropolises. Bailey ended with an unblushing pledge of his affections: "We should all live in villages." Connery says more moderately: "There are even times when I can bring myself to believe that a town like this one, far from being a relic of the past, is something of a model for the future."

Connery's book is loosely put together. Divided into four parts, one for each season, it assembles the author's observations and anecdotes, quotations from relevant sources, and a good many comments, often amusing, by unidentified neighbors. If the reader knows something about small-town life, he can form a roughly adequate impression of Kent. Otherwise, I'm afraid, the picture Connery paints is a little too bright.

I have lived in a small town for 40 years and enjoyed it, though my town is less picturesque than Connery's, and his town isn't much when compared with some of the show-towns in the Northeast. Driving through Kent on Route 7, one sees a goodly number of substantial, well-kept houses, enough to indicate that the town once had money and still isn't exactly poor. In the past the money came from farming and from the iron mines that flourished in western Connecticut a century ago. There are still some well-to-do dairy farmers, but many of the better houses belong to people who earned their money in the cities or, like Connery and Bailey, can work at home.

Much as I sympathize with them, I can't help raising my eyebrows when the new small-towners think they have found hope for democracy. Connery rightly makes much of the face-to-face relationships in a small town as an antidote to the impersonality of urban life, but when he comes to politics, when he suggests that the town meeting is, so to speak, the wave of the future, he is on shaky ground. The town meeting worked very well in the days when the towns were nearly self-sufficient units, but all that has changed, as Connery himself shows. The one going economic enterprise, dairy farming, becomes a matter of larger and larger organizations because of the expense of the new technology. A condominium apartment house has already been built in Kent, and the town is being eyed by high-powered real estate development men in New York City. More and more of the public business—education, transportation, power production—is being supervised by the state not the towns. Because so many of what were once town functions are now performed by state bureaucracies, the town meeting has lost both its importance and its interest: "54 attend out of an electorate of more than a thousand. . . . All cut-and-dried and all over in 51 minutes."

Of course tendencies may be reversed. The rate at which the national population grows has been slowed, and if it is stabilized, the towns won't have to worry so much about the encroachments of the city. If it becomes clear to more and more people that the nation cannot afford the wastefulness and destructiveness of technology run wild, they may not find it necessary to dam all our rivers or to pave a larger and larger part of the earth's surface. If we recognize that computers cannot solve our problems, we may discover that a good deal of work could be done more cheaply and more efficiently in town clerks' offices than in a new skyscraper in the state's capital. This, I'm afraid, is only a dream, but isn't it a pleasant dream?

Granville Hicks

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In Brief

Uncensored Russia: Protest and Dissent in the Soviet Union edited by Peter Reddaway

(American Heritage Press; $10)

Dissenting Soviet writers are usually tried and found guilty under one of two articles of the Russian Criminal Code. Article 70 declares, in part, that "agitation or propaganda carried on for the purpose of subverting or weakening Soviet power . . . or the spreading for the same purpose of slanderous fabrications which defame the Soviet political and social system, or the circulation or preparation or keeping, for the same purpose, of literature of such content, shall be punished by deprivation of freedom for a term of six months to seven years, with or without additional exile for a term of two to five years, or by exile for a term of two to five years."

Article 190-1 says that dissemination by word of mouth, written, printed or other forms of work of "deliberate fabrications discrediting the Soviet political and social system . . . shall be punished by deprivation of freedom for a term not exceeding three years, or by corrective labor for a term not exceeding one year. . . ."

But the authorities have not been able to quiet down all the dissidents, thanks largely to the success of the samizdat network and to the resourcefulness of the editors of *The Chronicle of Current Events*, the organ of the so-called "Human Rights Movement." That Movement, a mostly middle and upper-middle class group of men and women in the natural sciences and humanities, is estimated at little more than 2000 people. Now Peter Reddaway has taken the complete texts of the first eleven issues of *The Chronicle* and recast them in a more coherent pattern by putting all related materials together.

In his excellent introduction, Reddaway notes that within the Human Rights Movement nearly half of the members appear to have academic jobs and almost a quarter more are writers, actors or artists (the data is sketchy, since members must remain anonymous). The rest are engineers, doctors, lawyers, students, a few workers and even fewer soldiers. What brings them all together is their belief in law and its central place in their drive for the civil rights they believe are rightfully theirs.

The Chronicle deals exclusively with specifics. In those first 11 issues, we read about the arrests of 37 people, the trials of 85 and the harassment of 250 more. We hear about the conditions of 102 prisoners in the forced labor camps and 27 in prisons and mental hospitals. We are given the names and addresses of people serving prison and forced labor-camp time, and told who led the investigations. Here are the details surrounding important trials that the West has heard about but knows little, and about which the average Soviet citizen has only heard vague rumors but seen nothing in his own press.

SDS: A Profile by Alan Adelson

(Scribners; $10)

The author of this book earned his credentials for objectivity in writing about radicals by working as a feature writer for *The Wall Street Journal*. But he makes no claims for objectivity here. The portrait of Students for a Democratic Society that emerges is sympathetic, focusing on individuals rather than on the organization as an entity, and doing a thorough job of describing the SDS from the inside.

Something to consider when thinking about this profile of SDS is that its profile has been low in recent years. SDS surfaced recently in Washington during the demonstrations against the mining of the North Vietnamese harbors, urging attendance at a rally in front of the AFL-CIO headquarters to demand George Meany end the war. It was a bust. That has been their problem in recent years, having fewer followers than the hairless Krishna chanters not to mention the Jesus freaks.

For those whose memories may be going, SDS is a part of what was known as the New Left, preaching participatory democracy on campuses across the land until their factions fractured in a dispute on the use of violence. The violence prone went underground with their admiration (as expressed by Bernardine Dohrn) for Charles Manson and the Tate Eight. At first they called themselves the Weathermen but evolved to the Weatherpeople whose principal observable revolutionary activity has been bombing ladies' public toilets.

The nonviolent wing, which retained the name SDS, comes across as a monastic proselytizing order with a fondness for slogans (Dow shall not kill; Same struggle, same fight, workers and students must unite; Elections are a hoax; Part of the way with LBJ; ROTC kills, with or without credit; Power to the workers; Less talk, more action). Also fondly remembered is Mark Rudd's famous male chauvinist pig remark, "Get me a chick to do some typing."

In "Subterranean Homesick Blues," Bob Dylan said, "You don't need a weatherman to know which way the wind blows." One reason might be that the Weatherones didn't know themselves. Their nonviolent siblings in the movement, despite all their dedication, didn't seem to know either. All of SDS, old and new seems moribund, no doubt to be buried in a Marxist plot.

COMING
Jonathan Yardley reviews two new books on The Southern Mind

The Needle's Eye by Margaret Drabble

(Knopf; $7.95)

The author of five brilliantly witty, sharp-focused novels about young women in London, Margaret Drabble somehow misses her stride in her sixth, *The Needle's Eye*. The situation and characters—a penniless heiress who has given up all her money and is living in near poverty—seem literary. There is a Jamesian quality here, but Drabble is not a Jamesian writer; she is more at ease with prosaic reality than with intricate moral dilemmas. Her hero, a detached, intellectual barrister who befriends the heiress, is not much help either. Drabble has always had an intellectual streak, and in her best work it has served her well; but here intellect has utterly overwhelmed the freshness of the earlier novels. More important, one of Drabble's unique qualities has been her ability to write about survivors—tough competent women who bounce back, who try consciously to shape their lives; but Rose Vassilou, the heiress, is totally the opposite, a hapless masochist, her moral dilemmas finally exasperating the reader into viewing them as mere kookiness.

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Reconsideration

John Dewey

John Dewey lived a long time, from 1859 to 1952; some of his best work was written at an age when most men have retired. The single most persistent thread in his far-ranging career was a determination to establish the unity of all experience, to reunite separate realms and distinct modes of thought in a culture splintered by its philosophical dualisms. The search for a continuity between literature and life, thought and action, mind and body, self and society, carried him through three phases.

Art as Experience by John Dewey
Originally published in 1934 by Minton, Balch & Co. Now available from Putnam-Capricorn, $1.95

In the first, which lasted up to the early 1890s, Dewey was a philosophical idealist. He followed the British Hegelians in defining knowledge as a kind of participation, seeking to connect the mind to the objects it knows. Hegel was important to him because Hegel promised a resolution of dualisms and contradictions, a vision of life that was whole and of a piece. Even after he abandoned Hegelianism, Dewey was permanently indebted to Hegel for a social conception of the human mind, for the idea that freedom was rational self-realization, and for the view that logic and morals were evolutionary phenomena, changing over time.

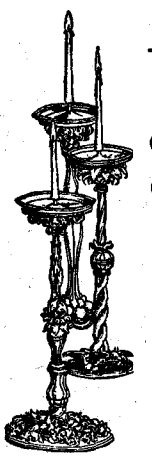
From the 1890s to the early 1920s there was a second phase in Dewey's thought. This was when he put together his basic philosophical outlook, instrumentalism, and elaborated a pragmatic approach to logic, ethics, psychology, education and social thought. Now Dewey followed Darwin in attempting to integrate human knowledge and human action into a framework of nature and natural processes: the mind was an instrument of evolutionary adaptation, and the terms of Hegel's dialectic became those of a biological creature interacting with its environment in a never-ending spiral of mastery and adjustment. Indirectly, Darwin gave Dewey the idea that philosophy itself was a sort of evolutionary criticism, an ongoing critique of old ideas in the light of new circumstances. Like Veblen and Marx, Dewey had a particularly vivid sense of the oppressive weight of dead ideas on the minds of the living.

Dewey fused certain traditional aspects of Protestantism, its reverence for experience and its belief in the application of intelligence to morals, with ideals of science and democracy. Like other disciples of Hegel on the left, he emphasized the realm of action as a vital concern of philosophy—developing his own concept of what the Marxists call *praxis*. The function of thought was to guide action; to believe a proposition was in some sense to act on it; the test of meaning and truth was experiential. Dewey warned genteel America of the folly of idle abstractions, cut off from real experience—what William James termed "vicious intellectualism"—and, equally, he reminded Teddy Roosevelt's admirers of the danger of all action not informed by intelligence. He contended that ethics was a branch of knowledge, and he developed a logic that tried to end what he saw as the "scandal" involved in the culture's divorce of science from morals. Along with William James he laid the foundations for a new psychology, and he worked out the outlines of a new philosophy of education.

This Dewey was an extraordinary, protean figure, who immeasurably enriched American thought, putting his decisive stamp on a vast range of issues in a dozen fields. Certain flaws kept surfacing in his social thought, however, and they are worth pondering because they suggest general weaknesses in the outlook of many members of Dewey's generation, the Progressives who came of intellectual age in the years between 1880 and 1920.

William James and Dewey were the two opposite poles of American social thought—James with his supremely romantic emphasis on individual experience, and Dewey with his characteristic emphasis on the social context of all experience. Both were inclined to talk a gool deal about "adjustment," a term that derived from pragmatism's central metaphor, the Darwinian adjustment or adaptation of the creature to its environment. Applied to social life, the biological metaphor was misleading in one respect and ambiguous in another. It was misleading, because it pictured a cooperative struggle against nature, building bridges or fighting epidemics. Most social situations lack the unity of purpose given by a common natural enemy: the social "problem" is the exploitation of some people by other people. Like many Progressives, Dewey kept defining social problems in technical and technological terms, which evaded crucial considerations of power, class and race.

The ambiguity in the term "adjustment" lay in the fact that Dewey meant two nearly opposite things by it. He meant a passive adaptation to the social environment, and he also meant mastery and control of it. In his educational writings Dewey sometimes talked about the need for workers to become conscious of the meaning of their work. This had a fine radical ring to it, but, put in terms of consciousness alone, it had a distinct, oily flavor of "human relations" capitalism—ending the labor troubles in the cotton mills by treating the hands to edifying lectures on the history of the textile industry. Late in his life, when Dewey spoke of social adjustment, it turned out that he meant a revival of local democracy and workers' control of industry. That, however, was



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not always what he actually said. This ambiguous meaning of the term adjustment was a particularly serious drawback in the American context, because it reinforced the tendency of Dewey and other Progressives to conceive of social reform as a matter of assimilating immigrants into a society that despised them.

Many of the Progressive intellectuals saw a new collectivism arising out of the central historical experience of their time, the industrialization of American life. Some were corporate collectivists, dreaming of rule by enlightened captains of industry. Others, like Veblen, dreamed of technocracy, rule by expert Bolshevik elites, scientists and engineers. Unlike the technocrats, who made no bones about their elitism, Dewey remained a democrat; he was nonetheless profoundly influenced by Veblen, sharing Veblen's uncritical awe of the utopian potential of American industry. Dewey believed that modern technology promoted a rational, matter-of-fact industrial mentality among the masses, and like Veblen he bootlegged all sorts of hopeful moral, humane and scientific virtues into his descriptions of the industrial order. Inevitably, he thought, a cooperative industrial commonwealth was going to replace capitalism.

Now it may be that, in the long run so derided by Lord Keynes, Dewey and Veblen were prophets; it may be that the imperatives of an advanced industrial order will move us all toward a society directed by intelligence. What was certainly true was that the Progressives, like more recent theorists of industrial development, drastically underestimated the strength of the corporate order and the grip of profit on American life. They hoped that planning would take the place of drift or the forces of the market, that the standards shaping social policy would be human needs and the welfare of the whole community; they were certain that history was rapidly converting these hopes to realities.

With the Progressives Dewey thought that government and science would operate independently of politics. He shared their profound revulsion against politics, their weakness for technical solutions to political questions, their vain hope that institutions could do the job that only politics could do. The hope was reflected in Dewey's educational thought, for example, where, though he was a superb guide to the educational and social nature of the school community, he was a typical Progressive reformer in promising that schools could solve basic issues of justice and equal-

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ity. He thought he knew how schools could save society, when in fact all he knew were the conditions for getting decent schools.

With important exceptions in his ethics and educational writings—particularly chapter seven of *Democracy and Education* (1916)—the Progressive Dewey took values for granted. Assuming that society was progressing toward good ends, he preoccupied himself with instrumental means and techniques. He criticized American life, but it was true, as Lewis Mumford charged, that he acquiesced in too much of it. In his own mind Dewey thought of himself as a Populist radical, but from the outside he too often looked like a social engineer, preaching adjustment.

Two incidents illustrate the lack of critical political judgment in Progressive reform. The first is the strange case of the Gary, Indiana public schools. Both Dewey and Randolph Bourne, *The New Republic's* cultural and educational critic, praised what came to be known as "The Gary Plan," a series of ideas put into effect by the Gary superintendent of schools. Dewey and Bourne liked these reforms because they made the schools lively and because they exemplified scientific principles of economy and efficiency—sacred words to Progressive ears. They were not prepared for what "scientific management" actually meant to most educators: in practice "The Gary Plan" boiled down to getting double and even triple use of the school plant by having twice as many children in one building and a rotating schedule of activities and rooms. The educators, in short, viewed the plan wholly as an administrative technique in the service of business and bureaucratic values totally at odds with any standards for a decent education. When the scheme was introduced to the New York City schools, Dewey had an opportunity to see a classic example of that exercise in bureaucratic manipulation, reform entrepreneurship, and ethnic and class warfare that Americans call education innovation. The reform mayor of New York and a motley coalition of reformers pushed the plan against the wishes of Jewish ghetto parents—who thought it was a plot to give their children a working-class education—and against the wishes of teachers and principals, who had never been consulted in the first place. There were riots all over the city—10,000 parents and children demonstrated in Brownsville—and the outraged voters threw

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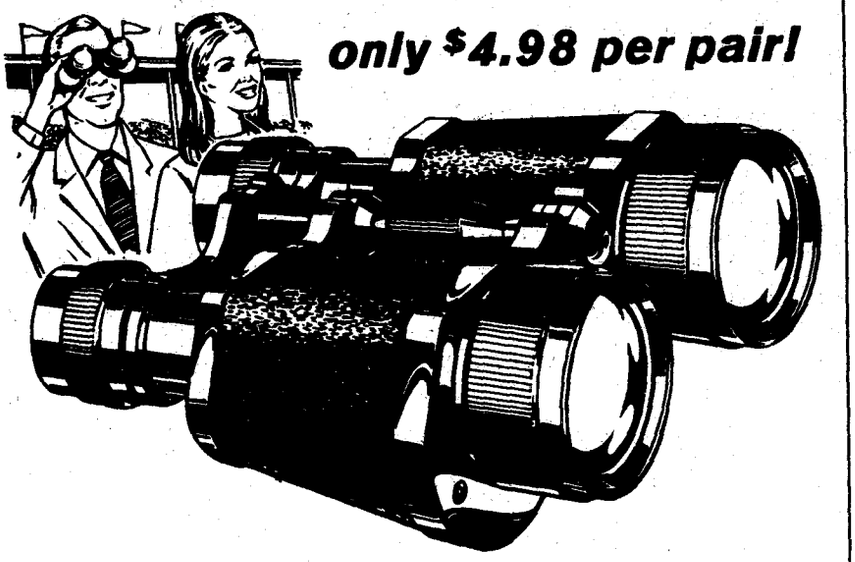

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the reformers out in the 1917 election. Dewey was slowly learning that school reform without the backing of teachers and parents was bound to be autocratic and reactionary. The reformers claimed to represent the public, but of course represented their own kind of interest group. This did not automatically discredit their ideas; it did make it imperative to analyze their class and ethnic biases.

Dewey was equally uncritical about war as a weapon of reform. He feared Prussian absolutism; when World War I seemed inevitable, he argued that the war effort would unite America, teach people how to cooperate, and bring about a new culture to replace the individualistic and capitalist culture. So for a time he was a booster for war, doing studies of alien populations opposed to the Allies, making the case for intelligently applied violence, and attacking pacifists like his friend Jane Addams for their sentimentality. What made Dewey's defense of the war so appalling was his opportunism, his identification with the war-makers, and his abdication of any responsibility to think clearly. Most of *The New Republic* staff shared Dewey's crackpot realism and his desire to be hard-boiled and effective; in fact they carried sentimental *Realpolitick* even farther than Dewey, tying their absurd dreams of national and international regeneration to such unlikely champions as Woodrow Wilson and the batty Col. House. Dewey's enthusiasm for the war was brief and it was tempered by a habitual skepticism about great leaders and his growing alarm over the wartime suppression of civil liberties. In the end he had, however, committed the same sin as most of the rest of *The New Republic* editors: he had surrendered his critical judgment and his sense of common decency to a presumed direction that history was taking.

Randolph Bourne's famous attack on Dewey over the issue of the war is usually interpreted as Bourne's farewell to pragmatism. I think Bourne was making a point that Dewey later came to agree with: that instrumental values are only part of a complete philosophy; without a vision, an articulated set of values and a grasp of politics, pragmatism could be twisted to serve any ends. Bourne was confessing that all the prewar reformers, including himself, had been insufficiently critical of American life. The men and women who had been raised in what Henry James called the "fool's paradise" of the prewar years had imagined that their private utopias were being fulfilled by what turned out to be questionable and sinister means.

Dewey finally realized that there was no conceivable relationship between his ideals and the ends for which the war was fought, and his basic vision underwent a change. This was the third phase of Dewey's career, beginning in the early '20s and continuing for the rest of his life, a period in which he was more publicly active than he ever had been before, producing an enormous amount of polemical journalism, as well as his two masterpieces, *Experience and Nature* (1925), and *Art as Experience* (1933). He changed his emphasis from the instrumental realms of science and technology to the human values to be served by science and technology, and radically deepened his critique of American life.

From being a Progressive social engineer, Dewey became a utopian social critic, skeptical of progress, more and more aware of what was good about the good old days, and what was ominous about the industrial order. Morton White recently pointed out that American philosophy before Dewey traditionally conceived of its task as the mediation of contrary realms of human experience; American philosophers like Emerson have characteristically vindicated morals, feelings and esthetics against mechanistic and rationalistic science. In his Progressive phase Dewey was a modernist rebel against these classic American traditions in the name of a new vision of science. Late in his life it became clear that Dewey's rebellion against Emerson and American philosophical tradition was strikingly Emersonian in its aim: to make philosophy a criticism of experience from the standpoint of human aspirations.

The late Dewey continued to emphasize the scientific method as the only path to knowledge. He never abandoned his admiration for science as a model of all intelligent inquiry. He kept hoping that the spirit of science would pervade daily life. Yet now he drew an increasingly sharp contrast between the abstract, colorless, instrumental realm of science and the intrinsic, richly human, "consummatory" values of art, conversation and shared experience. Once his inarticulate major premise had been the idea of scientific and industrial progress; now his central insight into industrial society was that it made people into machines. He still thought the industrial order could lead to a good life. He still believed in cooperation and planning; now he also insisted on workers' control of industry and a revival of local publics and face-to-face communities.

Art as Experience was the best statement of the late Dewey's basic vision, with its profoundly esthetic core: good art was a paradigm of fulfilled experience, life at its most complete. Art was an exploration of imaginative possibilities, and hence, ultimately, if indirectly, critical and moral. *Art as Experience* revealed Dewey's standards for a healthy society; it joined him to the great tradition of cultural prophecy attacking capitalism and industrial society in the name of an ideal of an integrated culture. From Coleridge and Arnold to the Leavises and T. S. Eliot, this has been in the main a traditionalist and elitist body of thought, although there has been a running socialist minority report from Ruskin and Morris, R. H. Tawney, Dewey and, in our time, Raymond Williams.

In writing *Art as Experience*, Dewey was in fact reopening an important debate that started in the 1880s, when Santayana, Henry James and Henry Adams had attacked American life from an esthetic point of view, seeing art as a haven and a refuge from slums, immigrants, robber barons, boosters, bosses, philistines and the consequences of unchecked technological growth. In the '90s, Dewey disliked the esthetes for their scorn for science, their escapism, their elitism and their denial of the possibility or desirability of creating a democratic culture. By the 1930s he still disliked these things, but was prepared to acknowledge the penetration of the esthetes' critique of the prevailing forces in American life. This deepened his critical grasp of what was wrong.

There are interesting tensions in *Art as Experience*. One source of tension arose from Dewey's view of a common culture in which the arts would be a force, esthetic but moral too, educating the community and preserving and extending its better values against the threat of greed, vulgarity and ignorance. Dewey was committed to a humanist art, yet he was aware of the fact that much of the best, as well as the worst, modern art and literature has been produced by men whose values were far from being humanist or liberal. Dewey never reconciled his ideal of a healthy culture with the deep alienation of 20th-century art.

There was another tension in the book. As a work of esthetics, *Art as Experience* was curiously reticent about standards of judgment; yet in a sense its entire

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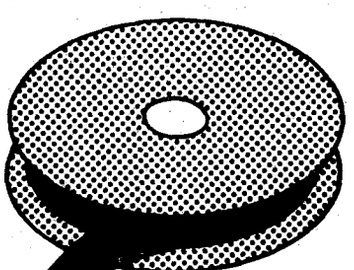
theme was the need for critical intellectual standards. It reflects the cultural dilemma of every American democrat who wants to establish a basis for making artistic, intellectual and moral judgments. On the whole, American democratic and populist traditions have tended to deny the possibility of ordering American life by any common values. The reason for this is obvious. Those who appeal to standards of any sort have usually been elitists; our history is full of ugly attempts on the part of elites to straighten out the masses. Thus Dewey's intellectual ancestor, Horace Mann, argued that citizens in a democracy required the moral discipline of social institutions like schools, because democracy demanded more of human nature than other forms of government. This was not a bad point, in theory. Given the actual class and ethnic realities of the American scene, however, a plea for social and moral discipline was a political weapon in the hands of ascendant groups against immigrants and the lower classes. Recent historians have done a good job of dissecting American reform, and we now take a more interesting and dour point of view about the motives of reformers in general. Having unmasked many benign figures in the traditional reform pantheon for the elitists and racists that they often were, those of us committed to democracy should also be prepared to concede that American popular traditions have also left much to be desired. Some of the reformers stood for ideals that, however abused, were sadly missing from American life: the ideal of a public good that was more than the numerical sum of private goods; the belief that American life could be ordered in terms of values. Dewey was attempting the very difficult task of infusing American populist traditions with a concern for common moral, intellectual and cultural standards. In the end he came to appreciate what most Progressive reformers missed, the enduring vitality in American pluralism: its revolt against any single group's definition of what was American. He leaned more and more toward traditions of local democracy and pluralism. Yet he also saw that a revival of these traditions would be reactionary without a commitment to universal values and shared standards. Standards would not be handed down by tradition or religious authority. There was no legitimate source of authority in the modern world except the rational, democratic process of thought and evaluation – the common social pursuit Dewey kept calling, vaguely and misleadingly, "the method of intelligence."

There are problems in reading Dewey today. One major problem is his writing style, which has the monotonous consistency of peanut butter. William James cursed it as God-damnable, and Justice Holmes once captured both the excitement and the difficulty of *Experience and Nature* by describing it as "what God would have spoken had he been inarticulate, but keenly desirous to tell you how it was."

Like many in his generation, Dewey was in revolt against lofty sentiments and fine writing, so his style was in part a rebellion against Style. He was helped in this studied disregard of the graceful by a genuinely wooden ear that simply could not hear the difference between "irrelevance" and "irrelevancy." Like Emerson he was at his best lecturing, but there was a lack of control and discipline even in the best lectures. The emotion filtered through the dry cracks at the wrong moments. In its energy, its mixed modes, its appetite for information, its chaos and dullness, and above all in its groping, muffled desire to say something about all of experience, a book like *Democracy and Education* resembles the formless, unfulfilled novels of Theodore Dreiser.

Among other things, a style tells you whether someone is thinking clearly. Dewey did not always want to think clearly. He wanted to erase many of the distinctions by which philosophy, common sense and good style have sought to order discourse about the world, to reintegrate mind and body, self and society, truth and morals. He had a radically Protestant dread of idolatry, a sense of horror at the scandalous worship of words and images instead of the shifting, precarious, beautiful reality of actual experience. At his best Dewey was attempting to write a natural history of experience, to portray our logical judgments and moral decisions as they actually occur in encounters and transactions with other people. This enterprise took him to the borders of art, which is why *Art as Experience* is so important for understanding him, a guide to his ambitions and a key to the sense of incompletion and frustration that pervades so many of his works. The



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desire to do a natural history of living experience, thinking and valuing on the wing, lay behind Dewey's Socratic insistence that knowledge and virtue are one; it was probably responsible for his frequent confusions of fact and value, which also stemmed from something he shared with the late, metaphysical William James: a conviction that any healthy sense of virtue had to reflect our actual biological and social natures, which were subject to empirical investigation. This and the insight that in actual fact truth and morals are intertwined are aspects of pragmatism's legacy that are worth preserving.

Yet Dewey's Progressive faith in the science of man does not move us very much today. We are skeptical of his assumption that the anguish of living will diminish as knowledge grows. For one thing the social sciences do not seem impressively cumulative in their wisdom; Dewey plainly underestimated the practical and moral problems involved in applying experimental science to people. He made a characteristic Progressive mistake in neglecting the political character of all institutions, including science. I would agree with Dewey on the validity of the ideal of science. What else do we have to go by but science, broadly understood—the appeal to evidence, to logic, to inquiry validated by open public processes of criticism and debate? But the ideal is only fitfully represented by the institution called science. This is more obvious to us than to Dewey's generation. Every day we witness scientific rationalism, harnessed to evil and even crazy political ends. In the middle of a panic-stricken flight from rationalism and the consequences of a perverted science and technology, it is useful to remind ourselves, with Dewey, that science ought to be a humane liberal pursuit, a path to liberation.

In social thought we are apt to prefer the late Dewey to the Progressive social engineer. Dewey was wrong to ignore the politics of institutions—like the Bolsheviks, the Progressives kept forgetting that what they were mainly doing was building bureaucracies—but he was right about the need to create institutions. Being more conscious of the dangers of bureaucracy we will want to fashion our institutions after the volunteeristic, pluralistic spirit of the late Dewey. Going beyond the world the Progressives left us will involve creating institutions on a human scale, and professions that truly serve clients. It will involve working for political coalitions to redistribute wealth and power, for without politics, attempts at reform will repeat the history of Progressivism. Lacking politics, Progressivism was in the end merely the ideology of liberal professionals and reformers. For a time Dewey looked like the ideal spokesman for the new bureaucratic order of professionals, managers and experts. Just as John Stuart Mill outgrew the desolate calculations of Jeremy Bentham's Utilitarianism Dewey transcended the bleak managerial scientism of the Progressive outlook. Like Mill, Dewey will be remembered for the way he carried liberal thought to the edge of something quite different from what it started out to be.

Dewey's philosophy, which was really quite simple, reflected an enduring outlook—the outlook of Daedalus, the legendary Greek craftsman who built the famous maze, designed wonderful gold jewelry, and mastered the secret of flight. Daedalus is *homo faber;* he believes that we know what we can make and he scorns superstition, hero worship and irrationality of any sort, glorying in the triumphs of artisans, builders, engineers and artists. The temperament has practical strength and a number of theoretical weaknesses. It is not sympathetic to contemplation; it is suspicious of politics; it often does violence to nature; and it is afraid of the past. Dewey never conquered his fear of the past, which is perhaps why so many ghosts of old philosophical issues hover over all his work, and why his psychology has so little to say about the inner life. He never examined his own history, and he never understood the American past—the American history taught in Dewey's experimental elementary school was a pageant of technological cooperation, not the chronicle of violence and oppression that were equally part of the story.

Dewey's basic point of view was never tragic. It was comic, based on the healing sanity of ordinary social experience, but it deepened and he came to appreciate realms he had once neglected. *Experience and Nature* is far in spirit from the technological imperialism of Dewey's earlier instrumentalism, suffused with a serene sense that man is within nature like Jonah in the belly of the whale. It turned out that Dewey's instrumental universe had room for many mansions, including the houses of contemplation, pain and death.

In politics, after he stopped believing in technical solutions, levers to pull to bring about utopia, he emphasized grass-roots change, and the necessity of diverse political coalitions to move a diverse and various country. He worked to build alliances between workers and professionals and the public in various ways, ranging from active support of democratic and highly political union movements to consumer and parents' groups and third parties, never quite settling on one means, never discovering a single source of social salvation, an increasingly lonely *philosophe* of a whispy revolution that never came about. He did not give up on the possibility of a democratic cooperative America. The wholeness of his late perspective, the cumulative nature of his concern, the steadiness of application, the lack of bitterness, made up for his terrible vagueness. He closed a late autobiographical sketch with these words: "Forty years spent wandering in the wilderness like that of the present is not a sad fate—unless one attempts to make himself believe that the wilderness is after all itself the promised land."

George Orwell once called Henry Miller "a Whitman among the corpses." He was pointing to the difficulty of working within the celebratory, transcendental vein on the grim material of 20th-century life. Dewey was struggling to be an Emerson among the dynamos, the bureaucracies and the colossal wars of our recent past.

Joseph Featherstone

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GRANVILLE HICKS *was associated for many years with the* New Masses *and then the* New Leader. WILLIAM MATTHEWS' *book of poems,* Ruining the New Road, *was published in 1970.*

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Correspondence

VAT

Sirs:
To Mr. Ulmer's five points toward reconsidering a value added tax ("How Bad is VAT?" June 17), a sixth point is in order: VAT offers a mechanism for restructuring the economy. For example, if a surcharge on the basic tax rate is added every time a product passes through a polluting industrial process, then goods which contribute to pollution will become more expensive relative to the equivalent pollution free services. This surcharge therefore:

1) increases employment by discouraging excessive capital equipment utilization.
2) provides more funds for regressive public expenditures, *e.g.* education and health care.
3) offers additional incentives to clean up the environment.

The magnitude of the effects depends of course on the rate of surcharge, the extent of its application, and the elasticities of demand for various goods.

There is also another reason for reconsidering VAT. Even with the proposed tax and expenditure reforms, federal government revenues are projected by the Brookings Institution to be inadequate for needed social programs.

David Sandler
Paterson, NJ

Nixophrenia

Sirs:
Now that the Moscow campaign is completed, preceded by the overlauded China excursion, it appears that the voters are again about to be exposed to Nixophrenia, a special brand of schizophrenia, developed and packaged by one of the country's most successful political packages. The strategy appears to be a new version of the old "game-plan" of divide and conquer. However, rather than attacking and dividing the diverse opponent groups, Mr. Nixon's strategy appears to be an attack upon the very thoughts of the individual voters themselves. As in 1968, with its still-secret peace plan, and 1970 with its law and order blitz, again in 1972, it is going to be an illusive image presented; that of Mr. Nixon as *The* Man of World Peace, an unlikely garb for a warring President, with a cacophonous coterie of cabinet members and military brass calling for increased military spending to enable us to protect ourselves from Mr. Nixon's very own agreements. In the coming months, it seems not unlikely that the President will increase the level of Nixophrenia, thereby confusing and scaring voters into re-electing him.

Richard J. Shiroff
Philadelphia, Pa.

Chinese, No Doubt

Sirs:
Mr. Reisman and I (Correspondence, June 10) seem to disagree less about the admirable institution of self-determination in the abstract than about its applicability to the case of Taiwan; and his case in the final analysis seems to rest on the assertion that Taiwan "was part of China for seven years (1887-1895); throughout the 19th century the Ch'ing dynasty did not and could not exercise effective power on the island." This simple question of fact should be settled by looking at the historical record.

The fact is that after its final conquest and occupation by the Ch'ing forces in the early 1680s, Taiwan was made a prefecture, *i.e.*, an integral administrative division, of Fukien province and was governed by Ch'ing officials for two hundred years until it was made a separate province in 1885. This is common knowledge. For example, our textbook reproduces a picture of the Ch'ing expedition sent to suppress a Taiwan rebellion in the 1780s. There is simply no doubt that Taiwan was a part of the Chinese empire.

I cannot help feeling that Mr. Reisman provides an excellent example of admirable sentiments operating without sufficient factual knowledge, and so in effect projecting American ideals onto a foreign situation where they do not automatically provide a feasible answer.

John K. Fairbank
East Asian Research Center
Harvard University

Investment Incentive

Sirs:
Melville Ulmer's essay ("McGovern's Economics," June 24) failed to adequately analyze Senator McGovern's corporate tax policies. Senator McGovern has proposed ending accelerated depreciation and the 7 percent investment tax credit. His program originally envisioned a $17 billion tax increase for business, which implied raising the corporate income tax rate from 48 to 52 percent, a goal he has since disavowed.

Accelerated depreciation was adopted in 1954 to allow the setting aside of sufficient reserves to replace used-up machinery and equipment at inflated prices. President Kennedy instituted more liberal methods of calculating accelerated depreciation and the seven percent investment tax credit in his tax reforms of 1962. The corporate tax rate was lowered two years later. The Kennedy reforms markedly raised the GNP growth rate for an unusually long period. They reduced unemployment from 6.7 percent in 1961 to 4.5 percent in 1965 and 3 percent in 1966-67, the last more or less normal years.

President Nixon decided to fight the Vietnam-caused inflation by ending the investment tax credit in 1969, perhaps partly because this tax increase would be invisible to most voters. (One suspects that this motive enters into McGovern's calculations, too.) A deep and lengthy recession followed. We also experienced a growing inability to compete in world markets, partly due to a less modern industrial plant.

In 1971 the investment tax credit was reinstated, and the economy is beginning to recover. With unemployment still about six percent, we cannot afford the further recession that adoption of McGovern corporate tax reforms would precipitate.

The average real growth rate of GNP was much greater with the Kennedy reforms that McGovern seeks to abolish than either before or since.

One hopes that Senator McGovern, if he is the Democratic nominee, will discard these radically conservative policies that discourage investment and make smaller the growth of the pie that we must all divide. Some revisions of corporate tax laws may be desirable, but the full effects of such changes should be carefully considered.

Ms. Stephanie Nordlinger
Los Angeles, Calif.

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Overdue Justice

Sirs:

As a former student of the late Melville J. Herskovits, may I express my joy at John F. Szwed's searching review of the now-reprinted *Myth of the Negro Past* (*NR*, June 24)? It is tragic that he had to die before he could see the black "cultural revitalization" Dr. Szwed has been able to see.

I began reading *The Myth of the Negro Past* as an adolescent on the Chicago North Shore whose cultural heroes were supposed to be meat packers and toothpaste kings, and whose duty was indicated as kindly custody of destined black servants. I finished it sure, then, of only one thing: the towers of my world had fallen. When I went to Melville Herskovits, he was gracious enough to take me in and let me learn from him. He was a great man as well as a great anthropologist. At last I believe he is going to receive justice.

Mrs. Gerald Jahoda
Tallahassee, Florida

Kauffmann, *from page 22*

follows. Hitchcock ends this shot with a politician speaking about pollution on the riverside: unfunny padding. If the long slow helicopter ride, all Glory of London, had ended smack on the floating corpse, which doesn't come until after the pollution speech, the air ride would have been worthwhile.

I realize that I'm fluctuating in this review, between pros and cons, and I suppose that's because, even though I recognize that this is better than Hitchcock's latest work, sometimes genuinely exciting, and a film only an extremely skilled and experienced director could have made, still there is something faintly loathsome about the film and about Hitchcock himself to me. He has said that his love of film is far more important to him than any considerations of morality, which might be an interesting statement from the Peckinpah of *The Wild Bunch* or the Polanski of *Repulsion*. But it has a tinny ring from Hitchcock, because his amorality is so specious, his cynicism so pop, his explorations of evil so patently show-biz. He turns his back on morality so coyly, so venally, that his lack of conviction becomes a lack rather than a conviction.

His voyeurism—the appeal to the Peeping Tom that he says has always been important to him—is more than faintly loathsome when it is sexual. Of course he shows us a glimpse of female pubic hair; he wasn't *not* going to take advantage of the new freedom. But he also gives us a sequence in a moving truck in which the murderer has to recover something from the grip of a naked dead female victim whom he had put in a sack of potatoes. First, diving into the sack amidst potatoes and legs, he seems to perform parodic cunnilingus on the dead body. Then when he finds the object in her now-rigid hand, he takes out a knife and, as we are plainly shown, hacks and breaks her fingers. All this seems to me cheap sensationalism posing as sophisticated *frisson*.

The level of acting is higher than Hitchcock has had lately. Jon Finch, who was Polanski's Macbeth, is strong and angry and attractive as the hero. Barbara Leigh-Hunt and Anna Massey are, respectively, nicely smooth and nicely pathetic. Alec McCowen is amusingly clerkish as the inspector, and Vivien Merchant—Mrs. Very Harold Pinter of *The Homecoming* and the London *Old Times*—does a good breathy cartoon as his gastronomic wife. Barry Foster has a dodgy shiny-toothed gleam as the hero's false friend but not quite enough force. Hitchcock says, "The more successful the villain, the more successful the picture. That's a cardinal rule . . ." Middling villain, middling success.

Book Note. North by Northwest, the first Hitchcock screenplay to be published, has just been brought out by Viking (paperbound, $2.25). This is one of an initial trio of scripts that are to be followed by more from the MGM library. The other two now available are *Adam's Rib* and *Ninotchka*.

Clearly these books are being presented in a way to support the writer's position. The cover and title-page of *North by Northwest* mention only the writer, Ernest Lehman. The same practice is followed with the other two scripts. When the flood of screenplays began in the US, ten years ago, the director's name was sometimes the only one on the cover, even if he hadn't even collaborated on the script. The practice has changed, but not completely. I'm glad that Viking is helping to change it.

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AT THE 62ND Catholic Press Association Convention, which took place in Banff, Alberta, Canada, in May. *Commonweal* won first prize for the best editorial in magazines for 1971. Here is the CPA's statement on the judges' award:

BEST EDITORIAL

"Commonweal *for its editorial 'Saga of Shame,' October 22, '71, wins first prize for an 'honest and most moving piece, about perhaps the grisliest story of the year, the situation in Bangladesh.' In a mere three paragraphs, the judges said,* Commonweal *said all that needs to be said about man's inhumanity to man, 'said it graphically and vividly . . . no one who read it could remain unaffected. It is editorial writing at its best.'"*

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A SAGA OF SHAME

"The most appalling tide of human misery in modern times . . . a saga of shame which should overwhelm the moral sensitivities of people throughout the world. . . . You see infants with their skin hanging loosely in folds from their tiny bones—lacking the strength even to lift their heads. You see children with legs and feet swollen with edema and malnutrition. . . . You see babies going blind for lack of vitamins, or covered with sores that will not heal. You see in the eyes of their parents the despair of ever having their children well again. . . . You see the corpse of the child who died just the night before."

Thus Edward Kennedy described what he had observed on a week's tour of refugee camps in India. There are now approximately nine million people in those camps, and more arrive over the border from East Bengal daily. *A saga of shame which should overwhelm the moral sensitivities of people throughout the world.* Should. But doesn't. For one reason or another, the world seems determined to hide from itself the reality of the terror in East Bengal and the plight of the refugees it has generated. The United Nations once again proves itself unable to confront an issue which does not fit neatly into the categories of the decolonization struggles. The United States identifies its interests with "stability," and "stability" with the brutal repression of a national movement by a military oligarchy within a minority. Peking plays geopolitics. The rest of us turn our heads. Because we don't know what we can do. Or because we fear that the demands, of these fellow men, hungry, ill, and without shelter, upon our consciences and resources would be beyond our willingness to give. Pope Paul appealed for help for the refugees, asking that October 10 be a day of prayer and fasting as a sign of participation in their suffering. *L'Osservatore Romano* treated the matter routinely, as of somewhat less importance than presentation of credentials to the Holy See by the Ambassador from El Salvador. But did any of the rest of us do better?

The shame which should overwhelm American moral sensitivities is particularly sharp. The violence the West Pakistan military government wreaked upon the Bengalis was, in sizable measure, done with American military equipment, equipment which, incredibly enough, has continued to be shipped to the Pakistan forces. The various alibis—from bureaucratic necessity to the desire to maintain "influence" and "leverage" so as to modify West Pakistan's repressiveness—are almost as shocking as the plain fact itself. Behind these rationalizations, destined only to deceive ourselves, the U.S. is making a choice in Southern Asia: for an authoritarian regime, for the inevitably cruel occupation of East Bengal by the West Pakistanis, against a nationalist movement, and even against India. Our leaders, we hope, will spare us the sophistry of saying we do this in the name of a post-Vietnam policy of non-intervention. They are not being called upon to intervene for Bangla Desh; nothing would be more distressing than to learn of covert involvement in the simmering civil war there. Washington is not being asked to break with Islamabad. It should simply reduce U.S. complicity to a minimum, letting the West Pakistan government take this gesture however it wishes; and begin bailing out India for its generosity to the refugees, not West Pakistan for its violence.

JUL 5 1972

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